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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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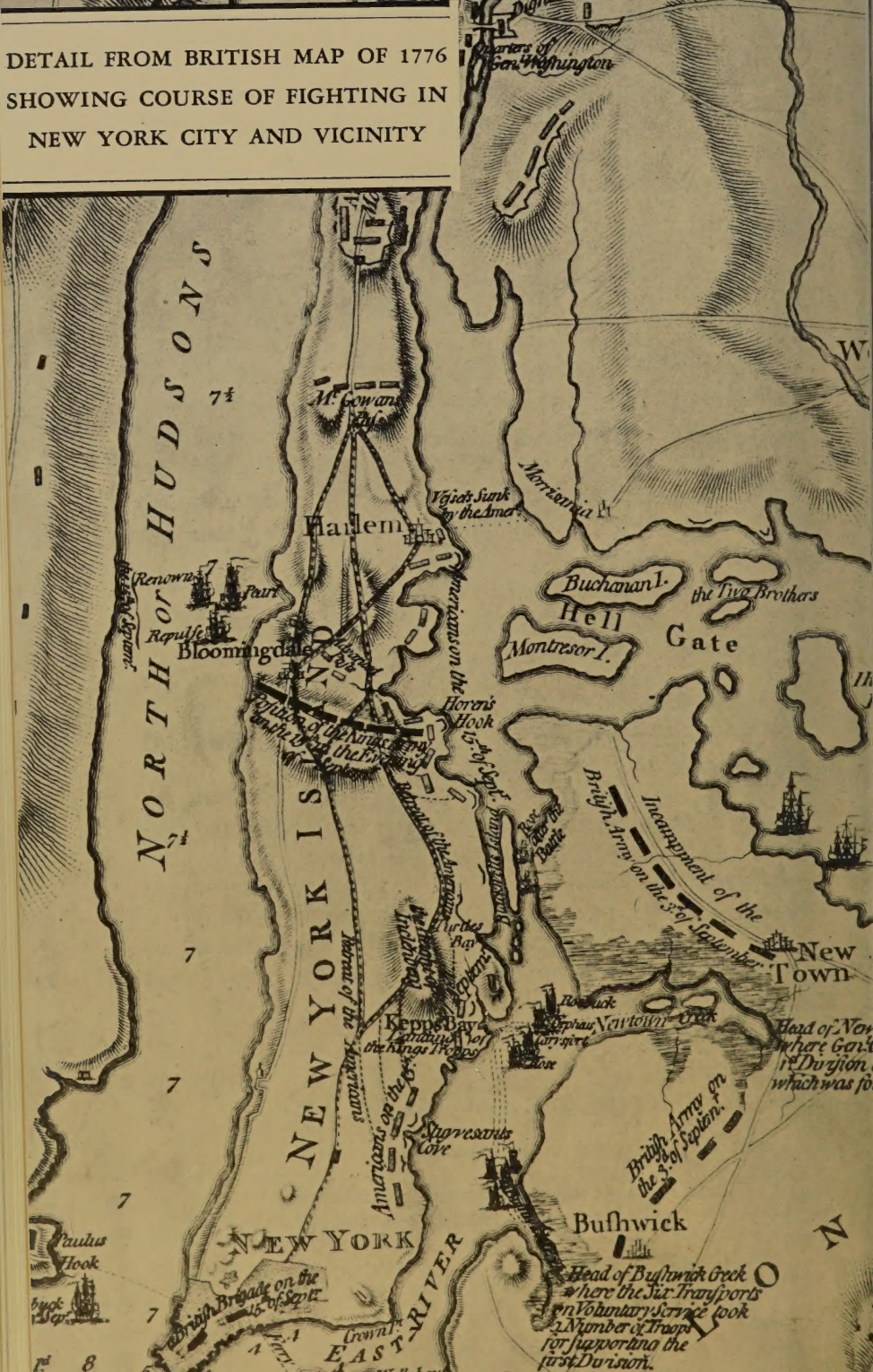
DETAIL FROM BRITISH MAP OF 1776 SHOWING COURSE OF FIGHTING IN NEW YORK CITY AND VICINITY



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THE JEOPARDY OF WASHINGTON

September 15, 1776

The landing of the British army on Manhattan Island and its relation to General Washington's endeavor to arrest the stampede of Connecticut militia brigades; and how his life was in jeopardy during the British pursuit of the stampeding Americans.

by Victor Hugo Paltsits

THE SUBJECT here presented centers around the landing of the British army on Manhattan Island on September 15, 1776, and its relation to the retreat of the American army with the British in pursuit; together with General Washington's endeavor to arrest the stampede of Connecticut brigades commanded by Generals Samuel H. Parsons and John Fellows, during which Washington's life was in jeopardy of capture or death by the enemy. It is a re-study of the original sources, and was undertaken some twenty-five years ago when the Sons of the American Revolution and the American Scenic and Historic

Preservation Society were considering memorializing the jeopardy of Washington on the 150th anniversary of the occasion. It was the intention of these patriotic societies to erect a bronze tablet if, as they thought, Washington's exposure to capture or death occurred on Murray Hill in the vicinity of the New York Public Library. I had been requested by the Director of the Library to report on the location, and the investigations showed that there were two stampedes and that Washington's jeopardy occurred during the second one.

George Washington had become Commander-in-Chief of the American military forces in June of 1775. The promulgation of the Declaration of Independence on Manhattan Island on July 9, 1776, preceded by only two months the desperate plight in which the Americans found themselves on Long Island and the miraculous escape of Washington's forces across the East River during the night of August 29th and completed early the next morning under a cover of fog. It was only a little more than two weeks before the British crossed over in pursuit on September 15th, the day with which we are particularly concerned.

From the military journal of Colonel Archibald Robertson of the British army we learn that at half past four in the morning of September 15th, the British army began its march towards "Newtown Inlet," or "Creek," where they "arrived a little past 6—found the Boats ready—at 7 the Embarkat[io]n began & at 10 the whole were in their Boats"; and at half past twelve o'clock "they were all rendevouzed under Bushwick Point." Colonel Robertson refers to the landing of the British at Kip's Bay, "the horror & fright of the few inhabitants" near the landing-place, and of his seeing "many of the Rebels running off in the greatest disorder."

General Sir William Howe, in his report to Lord Germain on September 21st, recited the events of September 15th as follows:

> On the 15th instant, in the morning, three ships of war passed up the North River as far as Bloomingdale, to draw the enemy's attention to that side; and the first division of troops, consisting of the Light Infantry, the British Reserve, the Hessian Grenadiers, and Chasseurs, under the

command of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis, Major-General Vaughan, Brigadier-General Leslie, and Colonel Donop, embarked at the head of Newtown Creek, and landed about noon upon New-York Island, three miles from the town, at a place called Kepp's Bay, under the fire of two forty-gun ships and three frigates as per margin [*Phœnix, Roebuck, Orpheus, Carysfort, Rose*], Commodore Hotham having the direction of the ships and boats. The Rebels had troops in their works round Kepp's Bay, but their attention being engaged in expectation of the King's troops landing at Stuyvesant's Cove, Horen's Hook, and at Harlem, which they had reason to conclude, Kepp's Bay became only a secondary object of their care. The fire of the shipping being so well directed and so incessant, the enemy could not remain in their works, and the descent was made without the least opposition.

So much from the British sources. We shall refer to them again.

Washington wrote a report in rough draft to the President of Congress from his "Head-Quarters, at Colonel Roger Morris's House," the present Jumel Mansion, on Monday, September 16th, of which a copy was sent by his secretary, Robert H. Harrison, in Washington's absence. This report, which became a stereotype for subsequent letters, and upon which the main data for the American side are founded, stated as follows:

On Saturday [September 14th], about sunset, six more of the enemy's ships, one or two of which were men-of-war, passed between Governour's Island and Red-Hook and went up the East River to the station taken by those mentioned in my last. In half an hour I received two expresses, one from Colonel Sargent at Horn's Hook, giving an account that the enemy, to the amount of three or four thousand, had marched to the river, and were embarking for Barnes's on Montressor's Island, where numbers of them were then encamped; the other from General Mifflin, that uncommon and formidable movements were discovered among the enemy, which being confirmed by scouts I had sent out, I proceeded to Harlem, where it was supposed—or at Morrisania, opposite to it—the principal attempt to land would be made. However, nothing remarkable happened that night.[1]

In his letter to Governor Cooke of Rhode Island, written on September 17th, Washington, referring to this act, said: "I had gone the night before to the main body of the army, which was

[1] Force's *Archives*, 5th Ser., Vol. II, col. 351.

posted on the Plains and Heights of Harlem, apprehending from many uncommon and great movements among the enemy, that they meant to make an attack there that night, or to land on the east side of Harlem River."[2] Washington had left his quarters at

THE ROGER MORRIS (JUMEL) MANSION

Taken over by American troops, August 1776. Here Washington spent the night of September 14th. This view was drawn by G. Hayward for Valentine's 1854 Manual.

Richmond Hill (in the bed of the present Charlton Street, east of Varick Street) on that evening of the 14th, after sunset, to go up to Harlem, and that night he spent at the Roger Morris House (the present house known as the Jumel Mansion, in Washington Headquarters Park, between 160th and 162d Streets, Edgecomb Avenue, and Jumel Terrace). He states that "the main body of the army" had been withdrawn to that locality by that time. It was his intention to assemble there all the troops which still remained lower down on the Island and in the City proper, expecting to fulfill that design the next day (the 15th). General Putnam made his headquarters at No. 1 Broadway, in the Kennedy House, hence he and Washington were separated ten miles from one another on Saturday night. Such was the situation on

[2] *Ibid.*, col. 369.

the eve of the day with which we are particularly concerned. It has a bearing upon the occurrences of that day.

The events on Sunday morning the 15th were reported officially by Washington to the President of Congress on the 16th,

THE KENNEDY HOUSE AT NO. 1 BROADWAY

Headquarters of Gen. Israel Putnam at the opening of hostilities on Manhattan Island. The view shown is No. 38 from Hollyer's *Old New York Views.*

and were repeated in more than less stereotyped form in his letters to Governor Cooke of Rhode Island (on the 17th), to the Massachusetts Assembly (on the 19th), to John Augustine Washington (on the 22d) and to the New York Convention (on the 23d). On the last-named date (23d) he also wrote to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, but differently. From the British side the events of Sunday morning were reported by Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, on September 21st, and more briefly by Colonel Stephen Kemble, the deputy Adjutant General of the British army in America, in his *Journal.* The British began operations by sending "three ships of war" up the North River as far as Bloomingdale. Howe says it was done "to draw the enemy's attention to that side," and Washington admits it "put a total stop to the removal by water of any

more" of his "provisions, &c.," or "whereby the water carriage was totally stopped," which happened "before" he "had accomplished the removal" of all the "cannon, provisions and baggage."

These things were preparatory to the British landing. Washington was yet at Harlem Heights. But "about eleven" that morning "the first division of [British] troops, consisting of the Light Infantry, the British Reserve, the Hessian Grenadiers, and Chasseurs, under the command of Lieutenant-General Clinton, having with him Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis, Major-General Vaughan, Brigadier-General Leslie, and Colonel Donop, embarked at the head of Newtown Creek, and landed about noon upon New-York Island, three miles from the town, at a place called Kepp's Bay, under the fire of two forty-gun ships and three frigates, as per margin [i.e., *Phœnix*, *Roebuck*, *Orpheus*, *Carysfort*, *Rose*], Commodore Hotham having the direction of the ships and boats." This is, as already indicated before, from Howe's report to Lord Germain. The British in preparing the way for making a landing "began a most severe and heavy cannonade, to scour the grounds and cover the landing of their troops between Turtle Bay and the city, where breastworks had been thrown up to oppose them." So says Washington to the President of Congress. That this raking fire was "most severe and heavy" and intended "to scour the grounds and cover the landing" of the British, Washington admits in all his correspondence on the subject. Sir William Howe averred that "the fire of the shipping being so well directed and so incessant, the enemy could not remain in their works"; however, his assistant secretary, Captain Francis Hutcheson, admitted "the Rebels made a shew for some time of man[n]ing their extensive Works." General George Clinton told the Committee of the New York Convention that the American "lines were but thinly manned, as they were intended only to secure a retreat to the rear of our army"; and Colonel John Glover speaks of the firing from the ships on the North River as well as those opposite on the East River, which together "kept up a constant cannonading with grape shot & langrage across the Island."

The British army "landed . . . at the house of Mr. Foxcroft, Postmaster General, in Kip's Bay," according to an anonymous letter of September 23d in *St. James Chronicle* (London: November 16, 1776). This letter also says that the British "troops immediately took possession of the house of Mr. Robert Murray, the Quaker's House on Inkling Barrack, a very strong point." Sir William Howe said: "The British immediately took post upon the commanding height of Inclenberg." Colonel Stephen Kemble's *Journal* states: "The Grenadiers, 33d. and 42d. marched thro' to Inclenberg Hill,"[3] and continues with further details of the British landing: "About 12 the whole first Landing pulled to the Shore consisting of the Reserve and Donop's Corps." Sir William Howe does not state the exact time, but confirms Kemble in saying his troops "landed about noon upon New-York Island . . . at a place called Kepp's Bay."

We are now to examine what are the facts connected with the so-called "Kip's Bay Affair." Washington tells us in his letters that he was at Harlem when the firing began "about eleven o'clock," and that "as soon as" he "heard the firing," he "rode with all possible despatch towards the place of landing" at Kip's Bay, when he was filled with "great surprise and mortification," because he "found the troops that had been posted in the lines retreating with the utmost precipitation, and those ordered to support them (Parson's and Fellows's brigades) flying in every direction and in the greatest confusion, notwithstanding the exertions of their Generals to form them." And Washington adds:

> I used every means in my power to rally and get them in some order; but my attempts were fruitless and ineffectual; and on the appearance of a small party of the enemy, not more than sixty or seventy, their disorder increased, and they ran away in the greatest confusion, without firing a single shot. Finding that no confidence was to be placed in those brigades, and apprehending that another part of the enemy might pass over to Harlem Plains and cut off the retreat to this place [Harlem], I sent orders to secure the heights [Harlem Heights] in the best manner with the troops that were stationed on and near them; which being done,

[3] The hill then called Inclenberg, later Murray Hill, covered from Third Avenue to Broadway, and from 34th to 42d Streets. The Murray house was situated in what is now the bed of Park Avenue, south of 37th Street.

KIP'S BAY, NEW YORK, AS IT LOOKED IN 1830

Watercolor by Fr. Ernst

Stokes's *Iconography*, Plate 107

the retreat was effected with but little or no loss of men, though of a considerable part of our baggage, occasioned by this disgraceful and dastardly conduct.

This is the form in which Washington reported the affair to Congress, and which he repeated substantially in his letters to others, as already stated. When he wrote to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, he was tactful. He did not write sooner than the 23d, more than a week after the event, and then said:

I must beg your excuse for not having wrote you of late upon the situation of our affairs and such events as have cast up in the military line. I shall only add that the important concerns which have commanded my closest attention have been the cause, and I am fully persuaded, will furnish me with a sufficient apology.

That he had written a full report to Governor Cooke of Rhode Island, two days after the event, we have seen. No doubt Washington felt keenly the "disgraceful and dastardly conduct" of the brigades, but wished to becalm himself before communicating with Trumbull. When he did write, it was in the following careful manner:

Of the evacuation of the city of New-York on Sunday se'nnight, and the retreat to this place, you will have heard before now, and of the manner in which it was conducted. I am certain a minute relation of them would only increase the uneasiness which would naturally arise upon hearing the events, and therefore, as I have not time, I shall not enter upon it.

This is all we have directly from Washington on the Kip's Bay matter, aside from reflections of it in his general orders.

Joseph Montgomery, writing to Caesar Rodney of Delaware on the 16th, said:

Yesterday, a most inglorious Day! the British Troops landed on New York Island from Long Island, at a Place called Turtle-Bay about five miles above New York, when the Appearance of only a few of them made two or three Regiments of Americans retreat, retreat did I say, it ought to be, run away, notwithstanding all the Solicitations, Prayers and I might say Tears of Genl. Washington. These were not Southern Troops.

This letter has some value because written to the Delaware leader then attending the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, and because Rodney gathered together the news of the affair and put it into a letter on the 18th to George Read and Thomas McKean, also members of the Congress. In this letter, Rodney said:

> We are not so much astonished that he [Howe] should get possession of New York, because we have expected it for some time past, as at the scandelous behaviour of our troops that were placed to defend the post where the enemy landed, who ran away from their lines and breastwork, in a most dastardly manner, when not more than sixty [men] were landed to oppose them.

In another part of the letter Rodney says: "When the firing ceased their troops began to land, and ours to run, as if the devil was in them. In spite of all the General could do they never fired one gun"; and that when Washington arrived on the scene "he met our people running in every direction. He endeavoured by persuasion and threats to get them back, but all to no purpose—in short, they ran till they left the General to shift for himself"; and he adds: "It seems not one of the men who ran from the place of the enemy's landing was from this side of the North-river,—all New England men." Then said Rodney to his correspondents: "I have wrote on this subject till I am in an ill humor, and my only comfort is that by the time you have read my letter you will be as angry as I am."

Important testimony is also given in General Greene's letter to Governor Cooke, of the 17th, dated from the camp at Harlem Heights. He wrote:

> The retreats were both judicious and necessary, our numbers being very insufficient to hold such an extent of ground. . . . Almost all the old standing regiment was drawn out of the city, in order to oppose the enemy at Hell-Gate, where they made an appearance of a very large body of troops, and movements as if they intended a landing. We made a miserable, disorderly retreat from New-York, owing to the disorderly conduct of the Militia, who ran at the appearance of the enemy's advance guard; this was General Fellows's brigade. They struck a panick into the troops in the rear, and Fellows's and Parsons's whole brigade ran away from

about fifty men, and left his Excellency on the ground within eighty yards of the enemy, so vexed at the infamous conduct of the troops, that he sought death rather than life.

This last testimony of General Greene is extraordinary and cannot be discounted. It was Greene who had been promoted only a few weeks before to a major-generalship, and who had, at a council of the generals, advocated the evacuation of New York and the destruction of the City. This testimony of Greene concerning Washington was written only two days after the event, and to the governor of Greene's own State of Rhode Island.

A day later (18th) General George Clinton informed the Committee of the New York Convention of the affair. He wrote:

Our lines were but thinly manned, as they were then intended only to secure a retreat to the rear of our army, and unfortunately by such troops as were so little disposed to stand in the way of grape-shot that the main body of them almost instantly retreated, nay, fled, without a possibility of rallying them, though General Washington himself, (who rid to the spot on hearing the cannonade) with some other General Officers, exerted themselves to effect it.

Of the event General Heath wrote in after years in his *Memoirs* (Boston: 1798): "Here the Americans, we are sorry to say, did not behave well; and here it was, as fame hath said, that Gen. Washington threw his hat on the ground, and exclaimed, 'Are these the men with which I am to defend America?'" His expression, "as fame hath said," indicates that Heath was repeating what he had heard reported, but we find no other record of this saying attributed to Washington. It is known, however, that Washington commended Heath's undertaking his *Memoirs*, and this expression may be considered as history without our being able to authenticate it further.

On September 19th, Major Nicholas Fish, brigade major with General John Morin Scott (whose residence was at Ninth Avenue and 33d Street), writing to the secretary of the New York Convention, said of the stampede:

A Cannonade from the Ships began, which far exceeded my Ideas, and which seemed to infuse a Panic thro' the whole of our Troops, especially

the Connecticut Troops, who unfortunately were posted upon the left, where the Enemy landed without the least opposition; for upon their near approach to the Sho[re] these dastardly sons of Cowardice deserted their Lines & fled in the greatest Disorder & precipitature & I know [*missing*] but I venture to say infected those upon the Right, who speedily copied their vile conduct, & [*missing*] pursued them in their flight. I am sorry to say that the Panic seized as well Officers (& those of distinction) as Men, in so much that it magnified the Number of the Enemy to thrice the Reality, & generated substances from their own shadows, which greatly assisted them in their flight to the Heights above Harlem.

Some of the details here given by Fish are valuable, especially as to the leaving the lines and scattering of the fugitive militia. Curiously enough, almost the same language is used in James Thacher's *Military Journal* (Boston: 1823), which was based in part upon Washington's reports and other safe sources, but who introduced the exaggerations of camp gossip and is therefore unreliable. Thacher says that Washington "made every effort to rally them, but without success, they were so panic struck that even the shadow of an enemy seemed to increase their precipitate flight."

Samuel Chase, one of the members of the Continental Congress from Maryland, on September 21st wrote to General Gates about the British landing and what followed, thus:

Our troops, posted in lines thrown up to oppose their landing, abandoned them, at the first appearance of the enemy, with the utmost precipitation and confusion. Two brigades, commanded by Generals Parsons and Fellows, were ordered to support them. They also fled in every direction, without firing a single shot, notwithstanding the exertions of their Generals to form them, and oh, disgraceful! on the appearance of only about sixty or seventy of the enemy.

This is, evidently, like the Rodney letter, based upon the accumulations of news in the Continental Congress. It is important as confirming that the militia "fled in every direction." Rodney's words were "running in every direction" when Washington arrived on the scene.

We come now to the testimony which Brigadier General Samuel H. Parsons gave before the court of inquiry respecting

the retreat from New York and the conduct of Colonel John Tyler, one of his own colonels. The court sat at White Plains on October 26th. The importance of this testimony for our inquiry is in the references to the distribution of regiments, and in respect to showing how the men were diffused in the stampede. It elucidates what we have had intimated, yet not so clearly, in documents already quoted, namely, that when Washington called out: "Take the walls!" and right after it cried out: "Take the corn-field," that the men "immediately from front to rear of the brigade . . . ran to the walls, and some into the corn-field, in a most confused and disordered manner." General Parsons testifies that he then and there "used his utmost endeavour to form the brigade into some order upon that ground, but the men were so dispersed he found it impossible"; while riding over to Bloomingdale Road [Broadway] "he found a considerable part of the brigade but in no order." His testimony accords with what Washington wrote to Congress, namely, first, that he "found the troops that had been posted in the lines retreating with the utmost precipitation" and, secondly, that "those ordered to support them [Parsons's and Fellows's brigades] [were] flying in every direction and in the greatest confusion, notwithstanding the exertions of their Generals to form them." Parsons helps us to see what Washington meant when writing to Congress:

> I used every means in my power to rally and get them in some order; but my attempts were fruitless and ineffectual; and on the appearance of a small party of the enemy, not more than sixty or seventy, their disorder increased, and they ran away in the greatest confusion, without firing a single shot.

This was really a second stampede and the one that most irritated Washington. Parsons makes this clearer: In his testimony he states that at the time of his first endeavor to form his brigade, and when he found them on the Bloomingdale Road in no order, "General Washington was then forward in the Bloomingdale road" and sent for him [Parsons] "and gave order to form the brigade as soon as could be done, and march on to Harlem

Heights." Parsons states further that "as soon as the brigade could be reduced to any form, they marched on to Harlem Heights"; but he goes right on to show what occurred in between, and says: "when they had proceeded about a mile or two, a sudden panick seized the rear of the brigade; they ran into the fields out of the road; the reason he knows not; in the fields he saw Colonel Tyler," whom he had not seen since he saw him before the first stampede going alone across a lot to the crossroad, as particularly mentioned earlier in his testimony. This rear-end panic is mentioned also by General Greene on the 17th, in his letter to Governor Cooke. He wrote:

> We made a miserable, disorderly retreat from New-York, owing to the disorderly conduct of the Militia, who ran at the appearance of the enemy's advance guard; this was General Fellows's brigade. They struck a panick into the troops in the rear, and Fellows's and Parsons's whole brigade ran away from about fifty men, and left his Excellency on the ground within eighty yards of the enemy, so vexed at the infamous conduct of the troops, that he sought death rather than life.

It was this second stampede which so vexed Washington and in which he risked his life. From a study of the correspondence of others, who were not eye witnesses, but who gathered together verbal descriptions, it is clear to me that the real facts were misunderstood at that time, and it is no wonder that a mistaken interpretation has persisted, aided by the accretions of camp gossip.

The importance of the testimony of General Parsons, as the only particular source for a detailed understanding of the flight, leads me to give it here, with my interpretations as to roads and localities. While this is a new exposition of the matter, I believe it accords with the facts as I see them. This testimony is as follows:

> Brigadier General Parsons: Says on the 15th, he ordered three regiments of his brigade, viz: Prescott's, Tyler's, and Huntington's, to march from the lines near Corlear's Hook [near the foot of Grand Street] to assist the troops in the middle division under General Spencer, where the enemy were attempting to land; that he soon rode on after these regiments by General Putnam's order, and found them in the main road [Bowery and Fourth Avenue]; asked the reason why they were not near the river [at Stuyvesant's] where the enemy were landing, as he then

supposed; was told by the officers that the enemy's boats were gone farther eastward, and probably would land at or near Turtle's Bay [foot of 46th to 47th Streets], on which they pursued their march on the road [Bowery and Fourth Avenue] to the barrier across the street [perhaps at about 23d Street]; he, the examinant [Parsons], being then near the rear of the three regiments, observed the front to advance on the road called Bloomingdale road [Broadway], instead of going in the post-road [Eastern Post Road, which joined the Bloomingdale Road at 23d Street]; on which he rode forward to the front of the brigade, in order to march them into the other road [Eastern Post Road], when he found Colonel Tyler with his regiment, and was there informed they marched that way [on Bloomingdale Road] by order of Generals Putnam and Spencer, who were just forward; this examinant [Parsons] then rode forward on that road [Bloomingdale Road] some little distance, perhaps sixty or eighty rods, to a road which turned off eastward [not located but a minor crossroad] to the post road [Eastern Post Road], and found General Fellows' brigade in that cross road [not located, but a minor crossroad], marching eastward [toward the Eastern Post Road], and also saw Generals Washington, Putnam, and others, at the top of the hill eastward [Inclenberg or Murray Hill], and rode up to them; General Washington directed that the examinant [Parsons] should attend to keep his brigade in order and march on into the cross road [joining the Eastern Post Road, just east of Lexington Avenue at 41st Street]; he accordingly rode back and met the brigade as they came into the cross road [same as preceding]; as he was riding back he saw Colonel Tyler in a lot on the south side of the cross road [not far from the New York Public Library site] coming from the Bloomingdale road [Broadway] to the cross road [the road from Broadway between 43d and 44th Streets to about Lexington Avenue and 41st Street] and asked him why he was not with the regiment; he said he was very much fatigued, it being very hot, and was going across the lot [above named] to join the regiment, it being nearer than to keep the road; this examinant [Parsons] then rode by the side of the brigade [now going on the crossroad toward Broadway] to near the top of the hill [Inclenberg or Murray Hill], his attention being to keep the brigade in order, and then heard General Washington call out, "Take the walls!" and immediately added, "Take the corn-field!" a corn-field being then on the right [north of 42d Street] adjoining east on the main road [Broadway], and north on the cross road [north of 42d Street]; immediately from front to rear of the brigade the men ran to the walls, and some into the corn-field [north of 42d Street], in a most confused and disordered manner; this examinant [Parsons] then used his utmost endeavour to form the brigade into some order upon that ground, but the men were so dispersed he found it impossible; he then rode back into the Bloomingdale road [Broadway] and there found a considerable part of the brigade [who had reached Broadway] but in no

order; General Washington was then forward in the Bloomingdale road [Broadway, north of 42d Street] and sent for this examinant [Parsons], and gave order to form the brigade as soon as could be done, and march on to Harlem Heights; as soon as the brigade could be reduced to any form, they marched on to Harlem Heights; when they had proceeded about a mile or two [north of 42d Street], a sudden panick seized the rear of the brigade; they ran into the fields out of the road [Bloomingdale Road, now Broadway]; the reason he knows not [apparently the reason was that stated by General Greene, the stampeding of Fellows's brigade at the appearance of the enemy's advance guard]; in the fields he saw Colonel Tyler, which was the first time he recollects to have seen the colonel after the time he saw him crossing the lot to the front of his regiment.[4]

The sources which are cited in this paper speak for themselves. I have consulted many other records and works in the preparation of this study. Much of this material proved to be useful only as coördinate matter, to be discarded because either untenable or irrelevant.

My conclusions are: that the consternation began when the British ships raked the American lines; increased when the British made a landing at Kip's Bay; led to the scattering of the troops which were stationed before the landing-place and prevented the brigades that had been sent to support them from doing so; grew into a disorderly retreat when Washington directed these men to "Take the walls" and "Take the corn-fields" —that is, to secure them, which happened north of the crossroad or 42d to 43d Streets, "near the top" of Murray Hill or somewhat east of Broadway; that a second and more dastardly stampede— in fact, "a sudden panick"—took place "about a mile or two" north of 42d Street, when the men "ran into the fields out of the road," namely the Bloomingdale Road now Broadway; that the last-named "panick" was the occasion of Washington's greatest displeasure, and that the place of it was where he endangered his life by his fearless adhesion to duty.

[4] Henry Phelps Johnston's *Campaign of 1776* (Brooklyn: 1878), Part II, pp. 92–93.

AS EARLY FOREIGN ARTISTS SAW US

by Frank Weitenkampf

HOW DID WE LOOK in other days to European artists who visited this country? To ascertain that—not how the scenic aspects of the land, or the aborigines, struck these foreigners—we must come down to the early 19th century.

Artists from abroad who pictured America in the period of discovery and colonization paid attention mainly to natural scenery and settlements. It was a rare move toward the theme of the present screed that was made in a plate (1758) in the *Scenographia* series of views: engraved by James Peake from a painting done by Paul Sandby after a drawing by Governor Thomas Pownal; it is "A Design to represent the beginnings and completion of an American settlement or farm." In it, farm buildings, a water mill, a cart, and other details throw light on the activities of settlers. But before the 19th century the settlers in the New World could hardly claim the same general interest as that aroused by the New World itself with all its wonders, its marvelous extent, its possibilities. The human element first to attract attention was naturally the original American, the Indian. Yet he too had to wait until the last century for adequate portrayal. After the quite fanciful woodcuts of the years 1505 and 1506 came the drawings of Jacques LeMoyne de Morgues (Florida, 1564) and John White (Virginia, 1585–6), done on the spot but full of the spirit of European conception and artistic gestures. It was not until the 1830's that a foreign artist, the Swiss Karl Bodmer, understandingly pictured the Red Man.

So now, then, to those with whom we are here concerned—those who became Americans by adoption, so to speak. As their military and political activities in the Colonies during the 18th century brought them more into public notice across the Atlantic, portraiture was naturally the earliest form in which Americans were pictured by Europeans. So we had Washington

A DESIGN TO REPRESENT THE BEGINNINGS AND COMPLETION OF AN AMERICAN SETTLEMENT OR FARM

Engraved, 1758, by James Peake from a painting by Paul Sandby

modeled by Houdon and Franklin painted by Duplessis. And individuals of note, or at least of the upper crust, were sketched here for a number of years by Fevret de Saint-Mémin. But character sketches of the people, pictures of everyday life as seen by foreign visitors, came after 1800.

When the Revolution had established a new nation in the Western Hemisphere, our political and social existence was forming into a pattern of its own. These changes, added to natural environment, helped to fix an American type. Our experiment in government, our efforts to work out our destiny, and the development of our social life naturally brought us more under the observation of the outsider. And so there came written and pictorial records by foreign observers. In the first half of the 19th century, particularly in its earlier years, certain artists coming to these shores on visits set down in drawings their impressions of American life. It was the time when visiting writers such as Mrs. Trollope, Captain Basil Hall, Charles Dickens, and others were writing of us.[1] Their view of American life has interest for us today, as have the drawings made here during the same period by foreigners. If the artist was influenced by what he thought of what he saw, becoming not only a recorder but likewise a commentator, there is the profitable opportunity to see ourselves as others see us. Though these pictures may be more or less tinctured with the foreign nature of the draughtsman and show reminiscences of the types of his homeland, they form documents of interest and value. (After all, the foreign character is to be expected; our own Frederic Remington, drawing European military types, put into them some of the racial traits of his own countrymen.)

American artists in the early years of the century were perhaps more apt to glorify military and political exploits and material advance than to busy themselves particularly with the depiction of the everyday life around them. To the foreigner it was, of

[1] Allan Nevins, ed., *American Social History* as *Recorded by British Travellers* (New York: 1923).

course, not everyday but new, unfamiliar, and worth recording. Even in city views typical figures may turn up. So, for instance, the view of City Hall Park in Klinckowström's book of travels[2] shows a porter with barrow (once a familiar sight in Manhattan),

KLINCKOWSTRÖM'S VIEW OF CITY HALL PARK, NEW YORK
From his *Bref om de Förenta Staterna* (Stockholm: 1824)

as well as a one-horse two-wheel dray and one of the pigs which then ran around loose even in this high-toned section of the city.

An early observer was Paul Svinin, a Russian, whose book on his travels here was edited by Avrahm Yarmolinsky with an introduction by R. T. Haines Halsey and illustrated with reproductions of Svinin's unpublished watercolors.[3] "He was bent," writes Yarmolinsky, "on knowing everything, seeing everything, going everywhere." He sketched various places, was interested in steamboats, stage coaches, sleighs, shad fishermen on the Hudson, Shakers, Anabaptists, camp meetings, the Philadelphia City Troop and other militiamen, chimney sweeps, Negroes. He pictured "Merrymaking at a wayside inn," showing

[2] Axel Leonhard Klinckowström, *Bref om de Förenta Staterna* . . . (Stockholm: 1824).

[3] Paul Petrovich Svinin, *Picturesque United States of America, 1811, 1812, 1813*, ed. by Avrahm Yarmolinsky with an introduction by R. T. H. Halsey (New York: 1930).

Courtesy of Avrahm Yarmolinsky

NIGHT LIFE IN PHILADELPHIA—AN OYSTER BARROW
IN FRONT OF THE CHESTNUT STREET THEATRE

Watercolor by Paul Svinin from his
Picturesque United States of America, 1811, 1812, 1813

BALLSTON SPRING, 1807

Watercolor by Baroness Hyde de Neuville

The New-York Historical Society

two couples in a square dance, both men with their hats on and one smoking a cigar! Halsey, in his introduction to the volume, said: ". . . the most noteworthy . . . are his Philadelphia sketches. No other such illuminating pictures of the life of our ancestors at so early a period are known to us." Thus it was a Russian who was setting down interesting observations of American life long before Darley and Winslow Homer drew, for *Harper's Weekly* and other periodicals, their pictures of significant types among their countrymen and aspects of their life.

Another recorder of that time, an amateur of respectable ability, was the Baroness Hyde de Neuville, wife of the French minister to our country. In the first two decades of the century she was making all manner of sketches (of which the New York Public Library has nearly eighty photostats): costumes of a

scrubwoman, a cook, a chambermaid, a little girl in Sunday dress. Besides, there are drawings of Indians, views, a covered wagon in Amsterdam, New York, as well as of doings in the French colony in New York City, with which the Baroness and her husband were much concerned. From France came, also, Charles Alexandre Lesueur, who remained here for twenty-two years (1816–37) and then returned to his homeland, where he died in 1846. Mme Adrien Loir wrote a record of his stay here[4] and R. W. G. Vail, in the American Antiquarian Society's *Proceedings* for 1938, dealt with "The American Sketch Books of a French Naturalist." His drawings add much to the story of life in our land. He gives us a Natchez ballroom, among the women being two smoking cigars; a horse track and race; keel boats with boatmen. He further presents bridges (including covered ones), ferryboats, steamboats, cotton boats on the Mississippi, cotton mills, barns, covered haystacks, rail fences, maple-sugar-making,

[4] *Charles-Alexandre Lesueur, artiste et savant français en Amérique . . .* (Le Havre: 1920).

Courtesy of American Antiquarian Society

NATCHEZ BALLROOM

Sketch by Charles Alexandre Lesueur

and the removal of a meeting house bodily to a new site. Like Svinin he seems to have had an open-eyed interest in various details of the life he saw here—to the profit of the historian.

In 1827 Mrs. Frances Trollope came to this country, and with her a young artist, Auguste Hervieu, who later illustrated her *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832). He seems to have seen us fairly well through Mrs. Trollope's eyes, and in any consideration of her book his lithographs well merit attention. That is true though we take his pictorial statements, as we do the author's written ones, with a grain of salt. And perhaps the grain, in both cases, may often be quite small!

An artist of whose drawings only two have been seen, both in the Eno Collection in the Print Room of the New York Public Library, was Cesare Capelli. The two pieces, inscribed "Reminiscenze di Nuova York, 1845," are street scenes, one showing "Mr. Easy's School for Young Ladies and Gentlemen," with people promenading, some hailing a stage, children playing about, etc.—pictures of types and manners. Was Capelli a visitor or had he settled here? No record has been found, and he is not listed in the New York City Directory.

Who knows, indeed, what other drawings by foreigners may yet turn up? Barnes and Noble in 1947 listed for sale sixty-nine drawings by George Tattersall, but before they could be got at by the present writer they had flown off to England. However, we know that Tattersall (1817–49) was a British artist (for his sporting pictures he took the name "Wildrake"), who visited this country in 1836 and did a number of sketches here in watercolor or sepia. It appears that these were mainly views in lower Canada and upper New York, but included also some hunting scenes and Indian subjects and such details as log cabins and exteriors and interiors of houses.

Probably the most elaborate pictorial account of the Mexican War was furnished by a foreigner, Carl Nebel. He did pictures for a folio volume by George W. Kendall, *The War between the United States and Mexico* (1851). Kendall says in his preface that

BOX AT THE THEATRE

By Auguste Hervieu

In Mrs. Trollope's

Domestic Manners of the Americans (1832)

BLACK AND WHITE BEAUX

By Auguste Hervieu

In Mrs. Trollope's

Domestic Manners of the Americans (1832)

"of the illustrations . . . the greater number were drawn on the spot by the artist." They were reproduced in lithography in Paris, and while the copying lithographic artists no doubt impressed some of their style on the result, you nevertheless get the feeling of a certain immediateness of observation. Nebel, a painter and architectural draughtsman, was the author of *Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la partie la plus intéressante du Mexique* (1836), and Alexander Humboldt paid tribute to the importance of his researches there.

Rudolph Friedrich Kurz was a Swiss artist whose *Journal* of his experiences among the fur traders and American Indians on the Mississippi and the upper Missouri rivers during 1846–52 was published in translation by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1937. He yearned for the "primeval forest and Indians" and managed for some years to get away from civilization. He was much occupied with the noble savage, drawing types found in various tribes, lodges, stone tomahawks, medicine pouches. But he also sketched white men: traders, Californians, Canadians, half-breeds; likewise packet boats, powder magazines, and other details. The text of his journal, by the way, includes sour comments on American women and on our manners generally.

There is one more item to be noted: "New York, Winter Scene in Broadway" (published by Knoedler in 1857), an engraving by P. Girardet after H. Sebron.[5] Sebron, who was in New York in the fifties, here presents a lively scene of various city types set in local surroundings. The street, in which we see structures such as "Chinese Buildings" and "Prescott House," is filled with people and vehicles: there is a six-horse stage of the Broadway line on sleigh runners; firemen, preceded by one with a speaking trumpet, are dragging an engine; three men in Chinese garb bear placards advertising P. T. Barnum; two army officers display uniforms of the day which show French influence.

In the pictorial documentation of our country's history, the pictures by these visitors from abroad play their important role.

[5] The original painting is in the museum at Rouen.

In time American artists and engravers began to furnish paintings and prints of our people in their daily life. J. L. Krimmel, Alvan Fisher, J. G. Clonney, W. S. Mount, C. G. Bingham, William Ranney, and others brought to their picturing of American life an understanding interest and a familiarity born of a partnership in that life. But their work is interestingly and significantly supplemented by that of the foreign visitors, whose alien point of view, indeed, might well consider phases of our existence that would perhaps not always strike a native artist with the same force of the unusual. In these foreign pictorial comments, then, we see what the outsider thought of us, and this expression of a transatlantic viewpoint helps to round out the story of our social life.

NEW YORK, WINTER SCENE IN BROADWAY
Engraving by P. Girardet after H. Sebron
Published by Knoedler in 1857

HAMILTON'S NEGLECTED ESSAYS, 1791–1793

by PHILIP MARSH

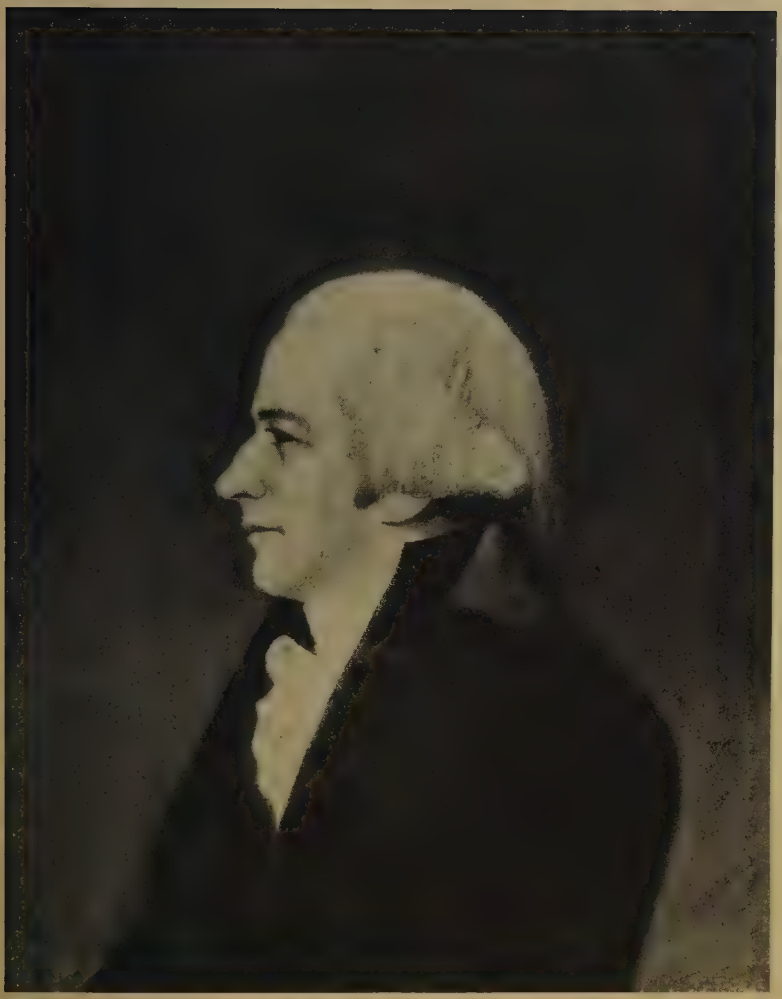
ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S activities as Secretary of the Treasury did not preclude his customary indulgence in able political letters on the side, to support his fiscal measures or the general policy of the Federalist administrations. Among his best-known essays are those attacking Jefferson and Freneau in 1792, under the signatures of "T. L.," "An American," and "Catullus"; his defense of the proclamation of impartiality in 1793 as "Pacificus"; and the "No Jacobin" series of the same year, in which he defended the Government policy concerning privateers, and attacked the French minister, Genet.

The standard *Works* edited by Henry Cabot Lodge was based almost wholly on the *Works* edited by Hamilton's son, John C. Hamilton, about fifty years before.[1] Little has been done to enlarge or correct these collections, and scholars generally seem content to assume that the Lodge edition is satisfactory. Yet it is not a scholarly work, and is rather distinguished for its prejudice, errors, and omissions. Much research is needed to set the record straight. Meanwhile, discoveries and corrections as they come to hand may prove useful. This essay adds ten items to the known writings, and suggests over a dozen other possible or probable additions.

On July 25, 1792, Hamilton's first "T. L." note in the *Gazette of the United States*, the Federalist newspaper edited by John Fenno, insinuated that the motives of Philip Freneau, editor of the Republican *National Gazette* and translator in Jefferson's Department of State, were open to question, that he might have been hired to attack the Government that paid him.[2] Historians are probably not aware that there were two subsequent "T. L." notes, likewise baiting Freneau.

[1] *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, Henry Cabot Lodge, editor, New York, 1904. *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, John C. Hamilton, editor, New York, 1851.

[2] *Works* (Lodge), VII, 229.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Pastel portrait by Felix T. Sharples (*c.* 1789–1844)

The New-York Historical Society

In his second note, deliberately misquoting and misinterpreting Freneau's retort to his first, "T. L." asked why the Government's money was used to support the editing of a newspaper attacking it:

> In his paper of this day, he intimates that he "receives a small stipend for services rendered as French Translator to the Department of State, and, *as Editor of a free newspaper*." This excites my curiosity still farther, and I shall hold myself obliged to any of your correspondents, or to the Editor of this really *National* Gazette (as it now appears to be) if either of them will inform me what inducement our rulers can have to hire a man to abuse them, and whether they do not hereby unnecessarily squander the public money. . . .[3]

Hereupon, "X. Y."—who sounds like Freneau himself—protested at the misquotation and completed the quotation with "admits into his publication impartial strictures on the proceedings of government." [4] Retorting ironically, "T. L." pretended to have made an honest error:

> PLEASE to thank your correspondent X. Y. for setting me right; and assure him that I really understood the Editor of the National Gazette, to mean that he received a stipend both as translator and editor. . . . At the same time allow me to remark, that . . . the information given by "An American," strongly countenances a belief of the fact, that he receives pay in both characters. . . . If he is in the pay of Messrs. Childs and Swaine, he is at least guilty of ingratitude to the government which has retained him as translator to the department of state; for, as editor or compiler, his attacks upon that government are both frequent and licentious. . . .[5]

As "An American," Hamilton expanded his attack to a broadside fired on Jefferson as an opponent of the Constitution, an advocate of an "immoral" transfer of the French debt to a Dutch concern, and the institutor of the *National Gazette*.[6] When Freneau denied by oath the charge of Jefferson's undue influence and asserted his own independence, "An American" retorted brilliantly in reassertions.[7] As "Catullus," Hamilton later resumed

[3] *Gazette of the United States*, August 1, 1792.
[4] *Ibid.*, August 4, 1792.
[5] *Ibid.*, August 11, 1792.
[6] *Ibid.*, August 4 and 11, 1792. *Works* (Lodge), *op. cit.*, VII, 230, 236.
[7] *Ibid.*, VII, 236.

his letters, and met all comers in rebuttal with his "Metellus," "Civis," "Fact," and "Amicus"[8] until December 22, 1792, when the last "Catullus" essay appeared. By now, Hamilton, cornered and defeated by the solid answers of Monroe (collaborating with Madison), subsided.[9] Scholars have often used these writings, but have hardly heard of the sharpest attack of all, by "Scourge," also Hamilton, whose manuscript lies fallow in the Library of Congress:

> Mr. J--- [Jefferson] at Paris some years ago . . . was the warm advocate of Union—he deprecated a schism—Union at all events—schism on no consideration, says the A---r at Paris. What says the S---y of S---e [Secretary of State] at Philadelphia? Alas—he speaks a very different language: he proclaims his abhorrence of the funding system and the bank—measures which have received the sanction of the legislature of the nation, and of the President; he declares open war against the Secretary of the Treasury, for having recommended them—he establishes a newspaper as a battery to keep up a perpetual fire upon him—and in patronizing the overthrow of those important measures, he lays the foundation of schism and discord throughout the Union . . . he openly and avowedly traduces, calumniates and execrates his administration, and thereby gives birth to factions and parties, which, unless soon checked, may involve his country in all the horrors of anarchy.— How is this surprising change to be accounted for? To *dire ambition*, the ruin of many empires. . . .
>
> The charge therefore is well maintained that Mr. J--- is the *promoter* of *national disunion, national insignificance, public disorder and discredit* —for the *factions* he has originated will, if not soon checked, end in all that. . . . As to his being what *Aristides* calls him an old *meritorious* public servant, it is supposed his eminent services in Virginia, at the time of Tarlton's invasion, are alluded to; and as to the crime of *An American*, in attacking Mr. J--- during his absence, this would not have happened had he been attending to his duty where he ought to be.
>
> SCOURGE.[10]

Probably sometime in late 1792 or early 1793, Hamilton as "Anti Defamer" wrote a retort to "Russel" for publication (not found) in the *Federal Gazette*, in which he demanded exact

[8] *Ibid.*, III, 28 ("Civis," Sept. 5); III, 40 ("Fact," Sept. 11); VII, 244 ("Amicus," Sept. 11); VII, 283 ("Metellus," Oct. 24, 1792).

[9] Philip Marsh, "'The Vindication of Mr. Jefferson,'" *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, January, 1946.

[10] *Gazette of the United States*, Sept. 22, 1792. Ms. in *Hamilton Papers*, Library of Congress.

terms for vague charges of corruption in contracts for the Indian war:

> The plain inference from this is, that the public officer who has an agency in making those contracts *shares in the profit of them*, and that a part of the money which is expended *flows into his coffers*—If this is not his meaning then Russel owes it to himself and to justice to disavow the inference. If it is his meaning then he owes it to the Public to answer the following questions. . . .
>
> Let him answer these questions or otherwise assign the ground of his insinuation or let him be despised as a wanton calumniator!
>
> ANTI DEFAMER.[11]

Also, early in 1793, as "Observer," he wrote a protest at Congressman Findley's assertions against the Secretary of the Treasury, a protest that apparently was not published:

> Among the publications which have appeared in papers containing the debates in Congress respecting the Official Conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury Mr. Findley is reported as having made the following assertions "That the Secretary of the Treasury had *acknowledged* that he had *not applied* the money borrowed in Europe *agreeably to the legal appropriations of the President*. . . ."
>
> Before I read this Speech I had carefully perused the different communications made by the Secretary of the Treasury to the House of Representatives and after reading it, I was led to revise [*sic*—reread?] them. The result has been, that I have found all these assertions . . . either direct untruths or palpable misrepresentations. . . .
>
> OBSERVER[12]

In June and July, 1793, the famed "Pacificus" papers[13] defended Washington's proclamation of an impartial policy toward the war in Europe, which was attacked by critics as an exercise of undelegated power tending to deny the validity of our treaties with France. Genet, the French minister, baffled by presidential regulations of privateers, lost his temper on July 7th. What he said is still not clear, but he was reported to have threatened to appeal to the people over Washington's authority. Seeing an opportunity to discredit him in an attack on Government policy

[11] *Hamilton Papers*, Library of Congress. Corrections in Ms. are here deleted.
[12] *Ibid.* Corrections in Ms. are deleted, it being a rough draft.
[13] *Gazette of the United States*, June 29 to July 27, 1793. *Works* (Lodge), IV, 445–482.

by "A Jacobin," whom he surmised to be the minister himself,[14] Hamilton began the series that he signed "No Jacobin."

These letters are partly represented in Lodge's *Works*, but are vaguely or wrongly dated, and incomplete. Lodge published only five numbers, dated "August, 1793," "1793," and "August 16, 1793," which he assumed to be the date of the last number. Actually there are nine numbers. The first appeared on July 31st, the last August 28th.[15] The four unrepresented numbers continue the attack on Genet, varying only the points. In the number of August 16th (wrongly given by Lodge to the essay of August 14th), Hamilton announced Genet's formal dismissal for his overt acts "in defiance of the known sense and will of its government." On August 23d, he accused Genet of placing himself at the head "of a political club . . . the Society of the Friends to *Liberty* and *Equality*. . . . The history of diplomatic enterprize affords no parallel to this." In the August 26th number, he again discussed Genet's "threat," adding, "The fact . . . has of late acquired more formal authenticity." In the final number, August 28th, he struck at the letters recently published by Genet:

> Did he intend to have it believed, that he had not made the declaration which is ascribed to him?
>
> If this was his object, he has totally failed in it. His letter contains no direct denial. . . .
>
> Did Mr. Genet intend . . . to remove all doubt from the public mind, about the reality of a serious misunderstanding between him and the government, and the want of respect in his demeanour towards it?
>
> If these were his objects, his success has been complete.

Meanwhile, Hamilton defended his "Pacificus" letters in an item unfamiliar to historians, by "Philo Pacificus," whose essay rebuked and refuted "An Old Soldier" (very likely Freneau).[16] "Philo" wrote thus:

[14] *Aurora*, July 12, 1793. This piece was probably written by Pascal, Genet's secretary. Bache, editor of the *Aurora*, denied Genet's authorship, as did Genet.

[15] *American Daily Advertiser*, July 31, August 5, 8, 10, 14, 16, 23, 26, 28, 1793. Lodge gives the 16th as the date of the essay of August 14th.

[16] *American Daily Advertiser*, July 27, 1793. Freneau had evidently used the pseudonym frequently in the *National Gazette*, and the item is clearly in his usual fervent style.

YOUR correspondent, the Old Soldier, has given us a long string of quotations from Vatel and Burlamqui—to prove what?—

Why, that the keeping of promises is of great importance to nations and individuals.

That real treaties are binding upon nations, notwithstanding changes in the form of government.

And this parade of authorities is offered against something that Pacificus is pretended to have advanced; who indirectly is honored by this learned and good natured writer with the epithets highwayman, villain, &c.

What are we to think of the understanding or candor of this Old Soldier, when the fact is that Pacificus has not uttered a syllable tending to draw into question either of the propositions which the authorities quoted tend to establish.

The reasoning of Pacificus throughout not only admits the sacredness of treaties, but proceeds upon the ground, that the treaties both of alliance and of amity and commerce, between the United States and France, are still in full force between the two nations, notwithstanding the change which has happened in the government of France.

All that he says turns upon an examination of the true meaning of the engagements contained in those treaties, not upon the obligatory force of the treaties themselves. . . .

It follows that all the extracts quoted by your correspondent are entirely foreign from the purpose. . . .

Does the Old Soldier, probably a mercenary, as well as a veteran, think to deter by his vociferations, Pacificus or any other independent man from defending against him and his accomplices the rights, the peace, the dignity and the independence of the nation? If he does he is grievously mistaken. The real patriots of the country will not be less ready to withstand the encroachments of the agents and myrmidons of France, than they were to resist those of Great-Britain. Their country is to them every thing, and they disdain to bend their necks to the yoke of any foreign nation.

PHILO PACIFICUS.[17]

All of Hamilton's papers exhibit a remarkable similarity of style—an incisiveness, a thoroughness, an unusual talent for penetrating an opponent's armor to his weakest spot, exceptional force and clarity, and an imperious, contemptuous air of authority. Such a style was so rare in the newspapers of the 1790's as to be instantly recognizable as Hamilton's, for only he could write so. It exists in other letters whose authorship cannot be positively

[17] *Ibid.*, August 5, 1793. Ms. in *Hamilton Papers*, Library of Congress.

proved, but may, for practical purposes, be accepted by scholars who understand the circumstances, the issues, Hamilton's nature, and his interest in defending particular causes, as probably his.

In the *Gazette of the United States* for September 14, 1791 (reprinted from the *American Daily Advertiser*), appeared a defense of the credit situation, the recent rise in securities, and of speculations in bank script. The article reveals an intimate understanding of public debt problems and is written in the Hamiltonian manner, being titled "*Reflections relative to the Stock of the Bank of the United States, and to the National Funds*," by "A Friend to Sober Dealing and Public Credit."

Prices of the "6 per cents" had risen from 12–13 shillings in August, 1790, to 22–23 shillings in August, 1791, a rise of over 75 per cent. National bank stock, over-subscribed July 4, 1791, rose in Philadelphia from $45 on July 13th to $185 on August 27th. There had been much criticism of this speculative activity, largely by Republicans like Jefferson and Madison. The latter had written to the former from New York on July 10th, "The Bank shares have risen as much in the Market here as at Philadelphia. . . . The subscriptions are . . . a mere scramble for so much public plunder . . . stock-jobbing drowns every other subject."[18] Again he wrote to Jefferson, August 8th, "The stock-jobbers will become the pretorian head of the Government, at once its tool & its tyrant; bribed by its largesses, & overawing it by clamours & combinations."[19]

Hamilton, though he had encouraged the idea of a value of $190 for the bank stock,[20] had no desire to see speculation get out of hand, as it might seriously injure the prestige of his fiscal program. He had written to Seton, "These extravagant sallies of speculation do injury to the government and to the whole system of public credit."[21] He was worried about the extent of specula-

[18] *The Writings of James Madison*, Gaillard Hunt, editor (New York, 1900-1910), VI, 55.
[19] *Ibid.*, VI, 59.
[20] Letter to Duer, August 17, 1791. *Works* (Lodge), IX, 494.
[21] *Ibid.*, IX, 476. Letter of January 18, 1791.

tion in August-September, 1791, as shown in letters to King, Duer, and Seton, to whom he allotted sums from the Treasury for the purchase of securities to stabilize prices. He was afraid that Duer's reputation would suffer in another "South-Sea dream." Warning him against over-optimism, he wrote, "I feared lest it might carry you further than was consistent either with your own safety or the public good."[22]

Perfectly consistent with this attitude, "A Friend to Sober Dealing and Public Credit" defended the state of credit and speculation from suspicions:

ALTHOUGH *the debt of the United States* has been among the circumstances, which have inclined the minds of individuals to the continuance of the union, yet it seems difficult to demonstrate, that a public debt is so far a public blessing as to render the existence of such a demand lucrative and desirable in a pecuniary sense. It is however certain, that it is actually profitable to a people to evince a real ability and a sincere disposition to discharge such debts as they may have been obliged to contract. . . .

In this state of things it would have been extraordinary if the funds of the United States, and the institutions connected with their affairs and commerce, had not risen to their natural and intrinsic value.

Hence the rise of the price at which our public debt has been sold in the market, hence too the demand which has appeared for the stock of the bank of the United States. If these (and particularly the latter) have been suddenly and strangely operated upon, it is partly owing to the quickness of action which sudden transitions from distress and disorder to great prosperity generally produce. . . .

With respect to the Bank Script, it is remembered, that comparisons of the U. S. bank stock with that of the bank of England, have been made in detail and in figures, which placed *Script* at 315 dollars. . . .

Let then the candid and serious take a careful view of the useful purposes to which the public funds of the United States may be applied—let those who think that too much profit has arisen to the purchasers, remember, that the public pays not a dollar more on that account . . . that during the time when prices were the most fluctuating the ability of the United States, the productiveness of the assigned revenues, and the prosperity of the country were as great as at any moment before, and consequently that *the intrinsic value of the public debt and bank stock was as fixed and solid, as if no fluctuations had occurred.*

[22] *Ibid.*, IX, 494. August 17, 1791.

In January, 1792, when speculation in New York, led by Duer, was reaching dangerous proportions, an item in Fenno's *Gazette* under "Original Communications," unsigned, tried to stem the rising panic and criticism of the administration—especially of the funding system, for which the speculation was blamed. The writer, who again sounds very like Hamilton, blamed the states for losses to original investors, and absolved the Treasury from all responsibility:

> We frequently hear the general government blamed for exposing those, who held the public securities, to speculators. Every advantage offered to public creditors, was recommended to Congress by the report on the debt, on the 9th of January, 1790. The proposition of the assumption was contained in the same paper. This report was *published* and *re-published* throughout the United States. Thirty days carried it to every state. *The holders in all states were put upon their guard*, for the funding law did not pass till six months and twenty-six days after. Were the people then taken by surprize? No.—The truth is, that the state governments had so long neglected to provide funds to pay the interest, and so long refused to empower Congress to do it, that their constituents, in too many of the states, did not believe an adequate provision would or could be made. It was therefore *the former conduct of many of the states that exposed their citizens to the speculators*, and not the present honest system of Congress. . . .[23]

On June 20th of the same year, when Hamilton, aroused by the attacks in Philip Freneau's *National Gazette*, was admittedly on the point of exposing the "plot" to subvert the Constitution led, as he thought, by Jefferson, a strong indictment of that newspaper and its supporters as "a faction," signed "C.," appeared in Hamilton's favorite organ and in his style:

> From the *title* of the NATIONAL GAZETTE . . . it was natural to expect that it would have been conspicuous for disseminating principles calculated to promote the greater *national* interests of the United States —*the national union*, *national credit*, *national prosperity*, in respect to commerce, agriculture and manufactures—*national* respectability in reference to the constitution, the laws, and government, which is placed in the hands of the first patriots of the country, at the head of whom is the man who "unites all hearts," at least apparently; an administration which with so much harmony, concord and success, have given America

[23] *Gazette of the United States*, January 18, 1792.

a name in the earth, and made her the model of the nations that determine to be free.—Instead of realizing these reasonable and just expectations, what do we behold?—A faction, who arrogating to themselves a superior degree of sensibility for the liberties of this country, are incessantly pouring forth, through the medium of that Gazette, a torrent of abuse. . . . This cannot be considered in any other point of view, than a continuation of that opposition which sprang up immediately on the promulgation of the constitution. . . .[24]

On June 23d, Fenno printed, under "Original Communications," an unsigned but Hamiltonian thrust at Republican attacks on his measures:

The acts of the general government, which the enemies of public tranquility are industriously attempting to render odious to the people, are, the act making provision for the debt of the United States—the act establishing a Bank—and the Excise Law.—Supposing it possible to effect a change of men, is it probable that a change of measures in respect to these laws would follow?—Wise men, if honest, would pause before they would essentially alter the systems founded on those laws. The first have produced greater benefits than were anticipated; tho' the public expectation was high. The short-lived concussion which sprung from a temporary frenzy for speculation, was no more chargeable on these systems than the abuse of the noblest faculties of man is an impeachment of the wisdom that formed those faculties.—This aberration from the dictates of common sense has worked its own cure.—but who can describe the fatal consequences which would result from a subversion of the existing plans; especially those respecting finance and revenue? It is of immense importance that a steady faith in the stability of the public counsels should be supported. Let the people have fair play—let them be informed as to the *real characters* of men, and they will not lightly chuse to conduct their affairs who are given to change, and who will make alterations that would plunge this country in scenes of distress which have not hitherto been experienced.

That change of measures which is so repeatedly adverted to in the *National Gazette*, and is so frequently and confidently anticipated, is nothing less than a subversion of the funding system!—Heaven avert such an event! It would be laying the axe to the great pillars of our national prosperity—the commerce, agriculture and manufactures of the country—and what is worse than all, perhaps, it would open the floodgates of speculation, and consign us over to all the horrors of national bankruptcy and national infamy. Can those persons who attempt to unsettle the public confidence in the *stability* of the most important meas-

[24] *Ibid.*, June 20, 1792.

ures of government, be either good men, or good citizens? No, they are not.[25]

Again on June 27th, Fenno published an article apparently by the same pen, a defense of the bank and loans to the Federal Government. Jefferson called Madison's attention to this item as the work of Hamilton, being somewhat perturbed at the use of the term "faction" to describe those who opposed Hamilton's policies.[26] Replying to an article in the *National Gazette*, the writer said:

> Nothing . . . can better shew the spirit by which a certain FACTION is actuated, than the gross and barefaced expedients they practice. . . . Among other sophistical absurdities, it is asserted that "the loan will *consist of paper*, which *costs the bank nothing*," and that it will be "repaid in *gold and silver*." This is a direct and palpable untruth. The loan in question, and every loan which is made by the bank, either to the public or individuals, is *absolutely* and *unequivically* a loan in specie. The moment after the sum lent is passed to the credit of the borrower, he or any person to whom he gives an order, for the whole, or any part of it, *can* go or *send* to the bank and take out the amount in *guineas*, *dollars*, or other *gold* or *silver*. . . . If he takes bank notes, it can only be because he prefers them. And what are these notes? They are payable to the bearer on demand, in gold or silver. . . .
>
> Let the conduct of the national government be compared with that of the states. . . . Peace, Brawlers! Peace![27]

After Hamilton's insinuations signed "T. L." on July 25th, in the next issue of Fenno's *Gazette* appeared what seems to be a deliberate part of the planned attack on Jefferson and Freneau by Hamilton, in a letter by "Detector," who attacked the *National Gazette* as the tool of the Republican "faction":

> It appears evident from circumstances, and the general complexion of the publications in the *National Gazette*, that it is only the tool of a faction, and the prostituted vehicle of party spleen and opposition to the great principles of order, virtue and religion. The virulence and scurrility of the writers are truly characteristic; but I could not have supposed them quite so weak as they appear to be. Do they imagine that their

[25] *Ibid.*, June 23, 1792.

[26] Jefferson to Madison, June 29, 1792. *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, P. L. Ford, ed. (New York, 1892–99), VI, 95.

[27] *Gazette of the United States*, June 27, 1792.

puffing artifice in magnifying their influence on the public mind has escaped detection? . . .

The effrontery of these men is now so brazen, that it glares upon every page. The charges which they make against others, recoil so strongly upon themselves, that nothing but hackneyed prostitution can prevent them from feeling it. Are they not, for example, the very hirelings which they insinuate that others are? Is not one of them professedly retained in pay under a department of the very government which they oppose? Do they not discover a spirit of intrigue . . .? While the *National Gazette* is pretended to be republican in its complexion, do not the publications in it uniformly contradict the genuine principles of liberty, by attempting to enforce the opinions of a junto . . .? They bellow loudly for the Liberty of the Press; but, examine the *National Gazette*, and see if any thing in favor of our national government is admitted into it, while nothing against it appears to be refused. . . .

It is high time, Mr. Fenno, that the mask were torn from the faces of these professed friends, but real enemies of the United States, that their true features may be seen—they ought to be freely and fairly exposed to the view of the world, that the public may be no longer deceived by the ridiculous affectation of those hypocritical republicans, those pretended advocates of the liberties of the people.[28]

On August 18th, answering a charge by "G." in the *National Gazette* for the 15th, "Candor" demolished the idea that Fenno had a monopoly of Treasury printing. By the undeniable tone of authority and the unmistakable style, "Candor" with little doubt is Hamilton again:

It is not a fact, at the present moment, nor has it been so since the first institution of the Department, that any individual has had the printing necessary to be done for the Treasury.—Among these are Mr. Aitken, Messrs. Childs and Swaine, Mr. Bailey, Mr. Fenno &c. . . . One considerable branch of this *treasury printing* is performed in the office of Childs and Swaine. . . . In addition to this the Printers of the National Gazette, are Printers to the House of Representatives of the United States, are Printers for the Government, of the laws of the Union, by Authority, in volumes,—and for the state of New-York in the Daily Advertiser—they are also Printers for the Department of State.—All this work, the Daily Advertiser excepted, is executed in the Office in which Mr. *Freneau's* National Gazette is printed. . . .

Surely then, the administration cannot be charged with exclusively encouraging those presses that have *approbated* its measures, when a press

[28] July 28, 1792.

that teems incessantly with *abuse* of those measures, enjoys by far the largest proportion of the printing business executed for the Government.

CANDOR.

To this impregnable answer, there was not even a retort. Why did Freneau permit "G." to make such a ridiculous charge? Evidently the editor of the *National Gazette*, absorbed in his writing and editing, was unacquainted with the job-printing department managed by Swaine.

A second letter by "Detector" and in the typical style of Hamilton appeared in *The American Daily Advertiser* for August 24th, addressed "To the MECHANICS and MANUFACTURERS," defending the report on manufactures:

A striking instance of the depravity of a certain restless faction is to be found in an assertion contained in a short address to "The Mechanics and Manufacturers," which made its first appearance in the "Independent Gazetteer," and was afterwards copied into the National Gazette of yesterday.—It is in these words, "The information (speaking of certain enquiries which were some time since made under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury) so acquired by the Secretary, enabled him to bring forward a lengthy report on manufactures, *to be introduced at the National Manufactory*."

Now, the truth is, there is not a single proposition, in the whole of the report alluded to, from beginning to end, which has any special reference to the "National Manufactory," as it is called; by which, it is presumed, is meant, the establishment at the Passaick Falls. . . .

The whole tenor of that report is an elaborate essay to call the attention of the Legislature of the United States to the encouragement of *Manufactures generally*, by *whomsoever*, or *wheresoever*, carried on. . . .

Sometimes they attack the Secretary of the Treasury, for endeavouring *to raise up manufactures faster than suits the state of the country*, to the prejudice of agriculture. Here they attempt to make him the enemy of the mechanic and manufacturing interests. . . .

The first ground of attack is indeed not better founded than the last. What would be the difference to the farmers . . . if the country abounded in mechanics and manufactures, to consume that surplus, and give in exchange the products of their labor, instead of the foreign articles which now render us tributary to foreign workmen? . . . *the full prosperity of agriculture is inseparable from that constant, steady domestic market for the products of the soil, which can alone arise from a flourishing state of manufactures*. . . .

On September 22d, in a letter "To Aristides," who was probably Randolph and who had defended Jefferson against the attacks of "An American," a new name in the attacks appeared—"Scourge," who was also Hamilton and the sharpest-tongued of all. He is actually rather funny:

> . . . you have not attempted to clear Mr. J--- from some of the weighty charges alledged against him by the *American* . . . in fact you have not only admitted others, but even proved them yourself to demonstration. . . . he [Aristides] . . . announces Mr. J---'s "*abhorrence* of some of the leading principles of Mr. Hamilton's fiscal administration;" and accordingly Mr. J---'s press has groaned ever since its birth with its abhorrence of the leading principles of Mr. Hamilton's fiscal administration.
>
> But *Aristides* says further, that this abhorrence is declared by his patron with a *manly freedom:* How far he may declare his sentiments on this subject with *manly freedom* among his own party, is best known to them; but certain it is, that in other societies he is distinguished for a very different mode of procedure; cautious and shy, wrapped up in impenetrable silence and mystery, he reserves his *abhorrence* for the arcana of a certain snug sanctuary, where seated on his pivot-chair, and involved in all the obscurity of political mystery and deception, (*Aristides* will excuse me for employing his own expressions) he compounds and, with the aid of his active tools, circulates his poison thro' the medium of the National Gazette.
>
> . . . his opinion appears to have been as versatile as his chair, and as in schools, applications to the breech are said to have a wonderful effect on the head, by driving up learning, so there appears to be such a wonderful connexion between the seat and the head of this great politician, and the motions of the one have such a powerful effect on the operations of the other, that we may say with the American poet—
>
> *But should his Honor raise Bum-fiddle,*
> *The Charm would break off in the middle.*
>
> . . . Mr. J--- fears in Mr. Hamilton a formidable rival, and therefore the sooner he can ruin him in the public estimation, the better for his purpose. To this end were all his means to be directed—on the one hand, a monstrous affectation of pure republicanism, primitive simplicity, and extraordinary zeal for the public good—on the other hand, to cry down the funding system, the bank, the excise law, as emanations from the Secretary of the Treasury. . . .[29]

[29] *Gazette of the United States*, September 22, 1792. Ms. at the Library of Congress, *Hamilton Papers*.

In the *National Gazette* for October 17th, "Fact" appeared again in reply to "Truth," who in the October 10th issue had attacked Hamilton's ideas on the public debt. Hamilton, who had used the pseudonym to defend himself in the same newspaper on the same subject (September 12th), probably resumed the pen name to answer "Truth":

> GENUINE Truth never deviates into misrepresentation. That an impostor has assumed its name in the National Gazette of the 10th inst. is sufficiently evinced by the following circumstance.—The writer, who appears under that signature, after endeavouring to torture certain expressions of the Secretary of the Treasury, into a meaning which, construed with candour, and in connection with their context, never could be put upon them. "If these opinions seem to be contradicted by any manner or degree by the other observations of this officer, namely, that 'the creation of debt should always be accompanied with the means of extinguishment,' and 'that there should be a constant effort to reduce the present and avoid new debts as far as may be,' it is most fairly to be explained by allowing for a more cautious language *latterly produced by the public alarm taken at such doctrines*," &c. Now, it happens, unfortunately for this uncandid interpretation, that the first of the above quoted positions . . . is contained in the *very first* communication, or report, which the Secretary of the Treasury ever made on the subject of the public debt; in that *very report* which contains the expressions tortured into an advocation of the doctrine that public debts are public blessings. . . .
>
> In any case, the doctrine charged upon the Secretary of the Treasury . . . is not attributable to any thing he has said, still less to any thing he has done. . . .
>
> FACT.[30]

On October 20th, in answer to criticism of the Treasury policy by "A Citizen of Philadelphia," a strong letter by "Americanus," who sounds very like Hamilton, corrected a misunderstanding that tax collectors were authorized to enter homes and granted twelve per cent of collections—and defended the policy of letting security buyers take their chances in a fluctuating market:

> The idea is insulting to common sense, that the original creditors should be charged with the certificates they have received, at about 2 s 6 in the pound, and the balance paid in good money. How is it to be ascertained

[30] *National Gazette*, October 17, 1792.

who sold out, and who did not? After a certificate has changed proprietors fifty, a hundred times. . . . If he can provide for an adequate revenue by *a bare impost upon luxuries*, à la bonne heure, let reparation be made to those citizens who suffered by the public deficiency. . . . But the fact is, it is an exhausted fund, and we are under no obligation to the "Citizen of Philadelphia" for his discovery, it having long since been a maxim in finance to lay high taxes upon luxurious articles, even long before his sixth essay was published.—*Metiri se quemque suo modul ac pede verum est.*[31]

In November, "C." taunted Freneau, the translator-editor, for publishing a French poem without translating it. Hamilton, who as "T. L." and "An American" had called attention to Freneau's lack of translating ability, may well have taken this opportunity to point out the editor's awkward situation:

WHY was not the elegant French sonnet, addressed to Mr. Freneau, and published in his Gazette of Wednesday last, translated for the delight of common readers? Tis unkind thus to confine the treat to the *few*. In the Nation's Gazette the *many* may expect to partake of what is good. And that it is good may be presumed from its being in that chaste and free Gazette, as well as being a lampoon on the Vice-President and the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Freneau being translator of French was in duty bound to translate it. . . . Many admirers of the chaste style of that Gazette, are of opinion that the editor only could do justice to the spirit of the original, which is often lost in the translation from one tongue to another. . . . Only two reasons occur to dissuade him. The piece being in praise of himself, his modesty is spared some blushes . . . secondly, being hired in the department of state, possibly his employer might be offended with a lampoon on two great officers . . . on the other hand, . . . his employer would forgive any rude treatment of those great officers, from a just sense of the great zeal and faithful services of his clerk and editor in the cause of liberty.[32]

In January, 1793, replying to an "army" statement claiming reimbursement for losses in certificates, "A Friend to the Late Army" pointed out the fallacy of the claim—in distinctly the manner of the Secretary of the Treasury:

THE army memorial lays stress on their being paid certificates worth 3 s. in the pound, instead of 20 s. in money. . . . The army had an unliquidated demand. It was liquidated, and the final settlements issued

[31] *Gazette of the United States*, October 20, 1792.
[32] *Ibid.*, November 10, 1792.

in consequence. It would be absurd to imagine that the unliquidated demand remained in force as well as the new certificate given in lieu of it; for in that case the United States will be charged twice for the same debt . . . whatever their market value might be, they certainly carried on the face the evidence of the whole sum of 20 s. . . . whoever might keep them, the public would be charged to pay the full amount . . . instead therefore of saying that the certificates were given the officers in payment, which is not true, we should say, they were given on a final settlement, and were (not the payment, but) the evidence of their whole demand. The question of their merits, their sufferings and losses, is not intended to be included in these remarks—which are made to shew that the principle on which they rest their claims, as of right, is unsound.[33]

In February, answering an attack on Washington for his undemocratic ways, "Civis," possibly Hamilton, who had used the pseudonym before, retorted with thrusts in the direction of certain southern critics (Jefferson and Madison?):

As to the negroes, you must be tender upon that subject. . . . Who talk most about liberty and equality. . .? Is it not those, who hold the bill of rights in one hand, and a whip for affrighted slaves in the other?. . .

A second mark of aristocracy is, that *He* frequently goes to Church and even shews a respect for pious clergymen. . . .

Thirdly, stick to the subject of levees; it is true visits of ceremony must be received . . . why should not our rulers go to the coffee-houses? I never saw the Governor of Pennsylvania, or the Secretary of State, or members of Congress and other great men frequent these places. . . .

Lastly you observe . . . that there is great aristocracy in the preeminence of his virtues. . . . His very merit is dangerous. . . .[34]

In the March 23d *Federal Gazette*, as a sort of extension of the bantering irony of "Civis"—and in the same manner—"Ravaillac" defended Washington against the charges of aristocracy on even more ridiculous grounds:

Should a *citizen goose* waddle through a mud-hole with too much majesty and consequence, some favored sons of thine [Liberty] would instantly step forward and sacrifice the *aristocrat*. . . . I will strike the first blow at the root of the conspiracy, and offer the following charges, which I trust will be looked upon as sufficient grounds of impeachment; against the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

1. That he is at least an inch taller than the generality of the *citizens*

[33] *Ibid.*, January 19, 1793.
[34] *Ibid.*, February 23, 1793.

of the commonwealth—and therefore in order to preserve that *perfect equality*, which should pervade a republic of *Freemen*, he should be reduced to a level with us by paring his heels, and undergoing the operation of scalping. . . .

4. He is generally seen with a clean shirt on. . . .

6. He permits Mrs. Washington to give *gratis* a dish of tea to her friends, and the ladies of the city, once a week . . . certainly paid for out of the public treasury. . . .

10. That he is one of the *best* and *greatest* men in the world, and considered so by all the world, but a few of us *knowing ones*.

The last charge, I grant, appears an extraordinary one—But I am preparing a very learned and ingenious treatise to prove from ancient and modern experience, that it is highly impolitic and dangerous in a *Republic of Freemen*, that one man should be better than the generality of the *Citizens;* and I shall also shew, that *Public Ingratitude* is the summit of *Public Liberty*.

In April appeared (unsigned) an amusing, extremely sharp satire on the critics of the Government, comparing them to "Mother Carey's Chickens," with a humor reminiscent of "Scourge":

THE ocean has always been infested by certain ominous birds, known to the American sailors by the name of Mother Carey's Chickens. Previous to a storm, they often surround a ship, with the most discordant accents, chattering, screaming, scolding and singing. Ill weather and ill luck always follow. . . we are informed that a certain great modern philosopher and politician, has lately got a small brood of them into his possession. He finds they are of the same species as the Parrot, and are readily taught to utter any articulate sounds, which they will repeat with incessant chattering—though he is not yet able to discover, whether they have any comprehension of his meaning. . . .

Extract of a letter, dated on board the Federal Ship, in the Latitude of Philadelphia.

"Dear Sir,

"Last night . . . we were all at once alarmed by a most horrid noise, and found ourselves surrounded by Mother Carey's Chickens. While the sounds were distant, they resembled the notes of a Jack-Ass . . . but as they approached nearer, we were astonished to hear a variety of articulate sounds, repeated [with] as much rapidity as the speeches of King *George* in *Peter Pindar*. . . . 'Aristocrat! Aristocrat! Hell of Monarchy! Sash and Ribband! Apollyon son of Belial! Treasury Blood-sucker! Light out of Chaos! Poor Soldier! Liberty and Equality! Down with the President! Down with the Aristocrats! &c.' Our crew turned out with the utmost

consternation. . . . But the Captain and most of the officers continued firm and steady. . . ."[35]

While he was still writing the essays of "Pacificus," Hamilton may well have paused to answer "Juba" in the *National Gazette* (probably Freneau), who had taken the part of Genet—using the pseudonym "Metellus," which he had taken before:

THE origin of declaimers and remonstrators is of very high antiquity . . . . Balaam's Ass is the first remonstrator upon record! . . .

You ask "why our executive was so passive when the brig Little Sarah was arming here, although a British bottom, and why all this bustle since the change of property?" I answer, that there is not the least similtude between the two cases. In the first instance it is well known, that the President had no knowledge of the transaction; and besides, the vessel in question was a merchantman, deeply loaded with American produce, and had no commission or letters of marque. . . .

To conclude, I am clearly of opinion that the time is fast approaching, when all men who are well wishers to peace, all men who have property, and indeed all men who are not hostile to the true interest of their country, will be called upon to declare, whether they will support a government of their own choice, or submit to a new order of things forced upon them by JUBA, VERITAS, a JACOBIN, little BEN BADGE, the translator of foreign languages, and the other numerous descendants of the FIRST DECLAIMER AND REMONSTRATOR UPON RECORD?[36]

Replying to "Juba's" retort (*Aurora*, July 23d), "Metellus" again appeared in Fenno's *Gazette*, attacking democratic societies and again perhaps insinuating, as before, that he knew "Juba" to be Freneau:

Among the other numerous acts of wickedness and Numidian perfidy, common to you and your party, may be ranked the establishment of societies for the purpose of engendering a spirit of persecution. . . . These societies to which I allude, whether termed Republican, Jacobin or Democratic, are well known to have different objects in view. Some of them are merely calculated to answer the purposes of an election—while others again are formed for the avowed purpose of obstructing the operations of government—perhaps to subvert it. . . .

It would indeed be happy for this country if all political opinions . . . were discussed by *those* only, who having *some* property, or what is tanta-

[35] *Ibid.*, April 13, 1793.
[36] *Ibid.*, July 17, 1793.

mount, *some* reputation, are necessarily interested in its welfare. . . . But when a few factious individuals who have nothing to lose, derogate so far from the dignity of freemen as to volunteer the cause of calumny, or become the servile tools of a party, they justly incur the appellation of Asses—Who if not goaded by the whip, are at least instigated by bribery or flattery to bray upon topics far above the reach of their slender capacities.[87]

This second blast of "Metellus" appeared in the same issue as the seventh and last letter of "Pacificus." Four days later, in *The American Daily Advertiser*, the first of the series "No Jacobin" began the attack on Genet, which closed August 28th, about when Hamilton was stricken by the yellow fever. The fever disrupted business in the capital, drove a third of the population out of the city, and contributed mightily to dissipate political problems. Though Madison's "Helvidius" answers to "Pacificus" appeared in late August and the first half of September, the issues they were designed to combat were no longer vital. Genet had lost most of his popularity, and his supporters were losing their audience. The radical Republican voice of Freneau and his *National Gazette* grew feebler, and he printed his last issue October 26, 1793.

It is of course impossible to prove positively that Hamilton, besides appearing in print as "T. L.," "An American," "Catullus," "Civis," "Fact," "Scourge," and "Philo Pacificus," was also "A Friend to Sober Dealing and Public Credit," "C.," "Detector," "Americanus," "A Friend to the Late Army," the second "Civis," the second "Metellus," and the author of other unsigned pieces on related subjects and in the same style, without more definite evidence than is now available. But it is a remarkable coincidence that they all form a unified pattern of attack and defense—attacks on the Jeffersonians and defenses of administration policy—in which Hamilton must have had an intense interest, any one of which he could easily have composed, and all of which are in one frame of mind, one devotion, and one manner of composition.

[87] *Ibid.*, July 27, 1793.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Anson Jones: The Last President of Texas. By Herbert Gambrell. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1948. 462 pages, biblio., index, frontis. $5.00.)

Rehearsal for Conflict: The War with Mexico 1846–1848. By Alfred Hoyt Bill. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. xi + 342 + x pages, illus., maps, biblio., index. $4.50.)

Here are two books recently published which are sufficiently in touch with each other as to be reviewed together.

Anson Jones—the thirteenth of fourteen children—remembered "the pleasant little village in Berkshire county [Massachusetts] on the banks of the Housatonic" where he was born on January 20, 1798, but unfortunately the family was in such circumstances that it was forced to move from one "scrubby farm to another" ten times before Anson was eighteen years of age. Notwithstanding that he had learned what he could in the district schools, and though he himself wasn't for it, his father decided that he should become a doctor. This meant, at the time, taking a job with the family physician, helping him set bones, compounding drugs, sweeping out the office, keeping his records—and if he could stay awake and attend "medical lectures" in the evening, so much the better! He must have had the stuff in him because on September 5, 1820, after two years, "Anson Jones, student of Dr. A. G. Hull, was examined and approved relating to his knowledge of physic and surgery"; so, handing the President of the Oneida Medical Society five dollars—two for the treasury of the Society and one each for the three who had examined him—he became a full-fledged doctor and hung out his shingle.

We can skip the years of tough sledding in the North and announce his arrival in the Lone Star State on October 20, 1833, with the "sole and exclusive object . . . to find a suitable field for the exercise" of his profession. Brazoria was the place, named by its founder, John Austin, two years before "for the single reason that I know of none like it in the world." Anson Jones of Brazoria—that sounded O.K. and, aside from being a pretty popular physician, he was elected a Congressman and took his seat when the second Texas Congress was called on September 25, 1837, in Houston, the capital. In that Congress he laid the foundation of his career, drew good committee assignments, proved "Guide, Philosopher and Friend" to his associates, and married Mary McCrory of Brazoria, the attractive widow of a war veteran.

Texas was then divided. She had declared herself a nation at Washington on the Brazos March 2, 1836, and a year later her independence was recognized by the United States, but much of her population favored annexation by the larger country. Whether Jones was for it or not, he

would be the last to crawl on his hands and knees to seek it. Although deputized as Minister to the United States to encompass it if possible, he realized that Texas could, if she would, get on alone and remain a "spunky little independent Republic."

It was only a series of steps for Jones from Minister to Senator, Secretary of State, and finally President of the Republic of Texas—all in a decade. In his inaugural address of December 9, 1844, he said not a word of annexation, gave no hint of his own attitude. Let Texas do nothing until the United States acts, he counseled, and then let Texas calmly consider what she should do. Yet at noon on February 19, 1845, before committees of both houses of Congress, President Jones arose and said: "The great measure of annexation, so earnestly desired by the people of Texas, is happily consummated. . . . The lone star of Texas, which ten years since arose amid clouds of carnage, and obscurely shone for a while, has culminated . . . and become fixed forever in that glorious constellation . . . the American Union. . . . The final act in this great drama is now performed. The Republic of Texas is no more."

It was the finish of Anson Jones too. He hoped to be a United States Senator from Texas, but was double-crossed by Sam Houston; he hoped to take up his old profession but, after a round of calls, he became depressed. To a friend who sat with him in his room at the old capitol he said: "My public career . . . began in this house and I have been thinking it might close here." They found Anson Jones next morning with a bullet through his head. A gruesome tale? Sure, but remember this happened more than a hundred years ago when they used to say:

Whiskey is whiskey however you fix it,
Texas is Texas however you mix it!

Ever look at the western boundary of the United States in those days? In Mr. Bill's book, *Rehearsal for Conflict*, there is a good one. Missouri, Arkansas, and Louisiana were our states farthest west, we are shown, with the Mexican boundary running north and south not so very far away. That left a lot of territory belonging to Mexico between our country and the Pacific well worth fighting for, and if we couldn't see it England wasn't so blind and was already thinking that California would look good attached to Canada. So to war we went. Not right out-and-out war, but using a little depredation on the part of Mexico into Texas as an excuse, we raised a few thousand men, put General Zachary Taylor at their head, and started things going. The first battle which Mr. Bill so efficiently describes about tells the story of most future fights throughout the war. This was the Battle of Resaca de la Palma, and here is the result: The Americans, 1,700 in number, defeated and routed an army estimated at 6,000, inflicting a loss estimated by Mexican officers at 1,200 killed and wounded and 300 drowned in the river. We had captured 8 guns, 2,000 stand of arms, 200 pack mules, 150,000 rounds of ammunition, standards,

personal baggage, etc., and among the prisoners taken were a general, two colonels, and several captains and lieutenants. Our loss was 39 killed and 71 wounded. That was enough of a victory to win the commendation of old "Rough and Ready" Zachary Taylor, who congratulated the troops upon their "coolness and readiness" and "brilliant impetuosity."

Mr. Bill not only retells the story of the Mexican War: he has a thesis and special viewpoint, namely that the Mexican War was an inevitable rehearsal for the Civil War, both as a training ground for some of the great captains of the larger struggle and as an expression of the forces in our national life which were making for cleavage.

Be that as it may, as memory refreshers these two books are "tops." History is being made so rapidly on the other side of the globe that we are prone to neglect matters of yesterday right in our own front yard.

New York City GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE

Our Unknown Ex-President: A Portrait of Herbert Hoover. By EUGENE LYONS. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1948. 340 pages, biblio. $2.95.)

This is a book long overdue; something like it, in all justice, should have been published many years ago. Not that it would have made any difference in the attitude of Herbert Hoover toward his fellow man—it wouldn't! He could have done with a little less of the smear and abuse heaped upon him by New Dealers, but he never complained.

It was long the fashion to slam Hoover: He caused the depression; he was responsible for the bank failures, for the unemployment. Once in a taxi the driver glared back at me and exclaimed, "D'yer want a return of the Hoover dollar?" That was too much. "Listen, young man," I replied. "If you will take the time to look it up, you will find that the Hoover dollar was worth one hundred cents. One of the first things his successor did was to reduce it to fifty-nine, and the American dollar has bought less and less ever since!" He shut up, but there is no use arguing.

Hoover's patience, his fortitude, his self-sacrifice, his sterling integrity have always been recognized and admired by a group of friends who, through good times and bad, have constituted a fraternity of mutual trust and affection. It must have warmed the cockles of his heart to receive that fifteen-minute ovation at the Republican Convention in Philadelphia before his speech and hear the tremendous applause which followed. Historians have always known that sooner or later, when all the chips were down, Herbert Hoover would come into his own and that he would be revealed as the world's foremost humanitarian as well as one of its greatest statesmen.

Mr. Lyons' book is only the beginning—it doesn't scratch the surface—but it is a good beginning and heartening, for it is a fine attempt by an

erstwhile fellow traveler to atone for some of the misinformation that he himself spread in the campaign of 1936. Many more books will be written on the life of Herbert Hoover, and this Society is blessed with a wealth of material available to students and historians covering his boyhood and youth and his great careers as engineer, humanitarian, and public servant.

New York City GEORGE A. ZABRISKIE

Thomas Jefferson, American Humanist. By KARL LEHMANN. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947. xiii + 273 pages, illus., notes, index. $4.50.

Thomas Jefferson among the Arts: An Essay in Early American Esthetics. By ELEANOR DAVIDSON BERMAN. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947. xviii + 305 pages, biblio., index, illus. $3.75.)

Monroe's Defense of Jefferson and Freneau against Hamilton. Edited by PHILIP M. MARSH. (Oxford, Ohio: The Author, 1948. 56 pages, biblio., index. $1.50.)

It is often said that each generation rewrites history in terms of its own interests. Part of this new appraisal consists of a re-evaluation of historical personalities; those which seem most contemporary come inevitably to the foreground to point up a present danger, to lend their prestige to a current crusade, or to illustrate the antiquity and pedigree of modern ideas.

There can be no doubt that Karl Lehmann and Eleanor Berman share in the present enthusiasm for Thomas Jefferson. Yet the subject matter of their studies is such that they are at least once removed from the temptation, all too general when the chosen field is political, of distorting the past in order to dramatize its lessons for the present. Both books are concerned more with Jefferson's personal tastes and intellectual habits than with the more heated matter of his social convictions.

But it is certainly true that the public official cannot be separated from the private citizen. In preparing these rather specialized studies, each author has offered a contribution not only to the students of Jefferson but also to the more general student of the revolutionary generation and its achievements. It is manifestly impossible to understand the early days of the Republic without being thoroughly acquainted with Jefferson, one of its key figures for at least the first thirty-five years.

Karl Lehmann's THOMAS JEFFERSON, AMERICAN HUMANIST deserves careful study even by those who have no interest in classicism, if for no other reason than for its oft-repeated insistence on Jefferson's aversion to systems and doctrinary theories. Although the author's discussion never becomes political, the evidence which he offers in support of this

basic theme contributes to the destruction of the 19th-century portrait of Jefferson as a theoretical philosopher dwelling wholly in the clouds. The classicist who emerges from Lehmann's pages is a man whose intellectual affection for Greek literature or Roman architecture did not blind him to the weaknesses of the classical social structure; a man who could love Homer but could not thereby be induced to accept the philosophical idealism of his countryman, Plato; finally, a man who cherished truth and the freedom to follow it wherever it took him, even if it led away from Athens and Rome. Those who are acquainted with Jefferson will see at once the connection between his willingness to discard a former teacher, Montesquieu, and his willingness in 1802 to form an alliance with England against a former ally, France. Although the completeness with which the author asserts Jefferson's independence of theory may be, by other evidence, a step too far in the opposite direction, Lehmann is, in general, a reliable and a stimulating guide, whose study of Jefferson, the humanist, explains much about Jefferson, the statesman.

Eleanor Berman's THOMAS JEFFERSON AMONG THE ARTS is a book of somewhat less importance to the general student of history. Yet it presents for the first time a convenient compilation, with some original material and synthesizing ingredients, of facts about Jefferson's artistic tastes and opinions, a subject worthy of the serious attention which is here given it. The author leans with considerable weight on the works of other writers—Dr. Horace Kallen is quoted at least a dozen times, and there are seven paragraphs in a row which begin with an acknowledgment to H. L. Mencken. But however much this may detract from the interest and vitality of the book, the method of presentation has the shining virtue of intellectual honesty; and since the contributing scholars are outstanding in the various fields covered, their participation makes the compilation authoritative.

A point of contact between this study and the more generally interested student is contained in the evidence it offers of Jefferson's utilitarianism. Like Dr. Lehman, Miss Berman finds it appropriate to emphasize Jefferson's aversion to the purely theoretical, and his insistence, even in the field of aesthetics, upon stressing the functional qualities of a work.

In considering Philip M. Marsh's editorship of a series of attacks by Hamilton on Jefferson and Freneau and rebuttals written by Monroe and Madison, we are returned from personal side-lights to the main arena of Jefferson's political career. The points of dispute are three: did Jefferson oppose the ratification of the Federal Constitution; did he propose in 1786 a transference of the national debt owed to France in such a way as to suggest a compromising of the nation's honor; was Freneau's appointment by Jefferson to a clerkship in the State Department an outright subsidizing of an editor hostile to the Hamiltonian policies of the administration. In addition to the editor's comments, this sizeable pam-

phlet consists of the text of Hamilton's accusations as they first appeared, principally in Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*, and the seven refutations, originally published in *The American Daily Advertiser*. The material here assembled is not new. But it deserves to be better known, even though the arguments make less than a startling contribution to Jefferson's defense. Particularly interesting is the controversial question of Monroe's authorship, which the editor attempts to establish in his commentary.

The New-York Historical Society DONALD SHEEHAN

A Catalogue of the Work of William Henry Rinehart Maryland Sculptor, 1825–1874. By MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS and ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE. (Baltimore: The Peabody Institute and The Walters Art Gallery, 1948. 74 pages, 48 plates. Paper-covered, $3.85; cloth, $6.10, prepaid.)

Marvin C. Ross and Anna Wells Rutledge of The Walters Art Gallery and The Peabody Institute, respectively, have collaborated on a catalogue of the work of William Henry Rinehart (1825–1874), the Maryland sculptor whose will enlarged the collections of these two Baltimore museums. This catalogue, issued in conjunction with the recent exhibition of Rinehart's work at the Walters Gallery, will be a useful complement to the William Sever Rush biography, *William Henry Rinehart, Sculptor*, together with which it will serve to establish the life and work of a 19th-century sculptor who represents the best in the neo-classic tradition in America.

The New-York Historical Society ROBERTA M. PAINE

State Censuses: An annotated bibliography of censuses of population taken after the year 1790 by States and Territories of the United States. Prepared by HENRY J. DUBESTER, Chief, Census Library Project, Library of Congress. (Washington, D.C.: Supt. of Docs., U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1948. v + 73 pages. Paper cover. $0.20.)

Under each State and the District of Columbia are shown the years in which State or Territorial censuses were taken, by whom the enumerations were made, what information was called for, and how much of that information was embodied in each of the listed publications based upon the several censuses.

An appendix shows for each State which of the original schedules of the above-cited censuses are extant, in what offices they are kept, their present condition, how they are indexed, what prior information is needed for searching data on individuals therein, and fees or other conditions for their use. These data are limited in completeness and accuracy by the responses of the State officials on which they are based.

COLORED POSTCARDS AVAILABLE

REPRODUCED FROM ORIGINAL PAINTINGS IN THE SOCIETY'S COLLECTION

MEMBERS and friends of the Society will be interested to hear of the completion of a set of postcards in full color reproducing 25 American paintings in our collection. These remarkably faithful reproductions in small scale of some of the Society's more important pictures were produced by the Arthur Jaffé Heliochrome Company after many months of careful study and comparison with the original works of art. Because of the emphasis upon 18th- and 19th-century examples, the Society's postcards constitute one of the best sets of early American art subjects available anywhere today. These subjects in full color, along with 45 black-and-white cards also available, will go far towards acquainting wider audiences with the quality as well as the extent of our collection.

Great care was taken in choosing subjects for reproduction in full color, in order that they might represent the various facets of the Society's rich collection. They offer variety of media, subject matter, and date, and are with two exceptions by known artists. Oils, watercolors, and a miniature appear in the following list, which includes portraits, historical subjects, New York views, genre subjects, primitives, and several original Audubon watercolors.

For the sake of members who may wish to order individual cards at 10 cents each, the full list of 25 subjects is presented.

DONALD A. SHELLEY

Portraits

1. PETER STUYVESANT painted from life, *c.* 1660
2. THE RAPALJE CHILDREN by John Durand, *c.* 1768
3. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN by Joseph Duplessis, *c.* 1784
4. GEORGE WASHINGTON by Charles Willson Peale, 1795
5. CORNPLANTER, Ki-on-twog-ky, A Seneca Chief, by F. Bartoli, 1796
6. THOMAS JEFFERSON by Rembrandt Peale, 1805
7. ROBERT FULTON by Himself
8. ABRAHAM LINCOLN by William E. Marshall, 1864

Historical Subjects

9. PILGRIMS GOING TO CHURCH by George H. Boughton, 1867
10. TONTINE COFFEE HOUSE, WALL AND WATER STREETS, NEW YORK by Francis Guy, 1797

11. Engagement between the "United States" and the "Macedonian, 1812" by Thomas Birch
12. Tammany Society Celebrating the Fourth of July, 1812 by William Chappel, 1869
13. Steamboat "Iron Witch" by J. V. Cornell, *c.* 1846
14. Castle Garden by an Unidentified Artist, *c.* 1850
15. Bowling Green by David Johnson, 1860
16. New York-to-Lakewood Coach "Liberty" Crossing the Bridge near Turkey Blue Ball, New Jersey by Max Klepper, 1903

Genre

17. Bargaining for a Horse by William S. Mount, 1835
18. Old Kentucky Home by Eastman Johnson, 1859
19. Returning to the Farm by George H. Durrie, 1861
20. The Latest News by A. F. Tait

American Primitives

21. General Francis Marion Feasting British Officer on Sweet Potatoes by G. W. Mark
22. James and Sarah Tuttle, 1836, by Joseph H. Davis

Original Audubon Watercolors

23. Wild Turkey by John James Audubon (Plate #1 of his "Birds of America")
24. Blue Jay by John James Audubon (Plate #102 of his "Birds of America")
25. Pileated Woodpecker by John James Audubon (Plate #111 of his "Birds of America")

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

Tuesday, Oct. 19: Illustrated lecture for members and their friends on the "Forty Niners" by Joseph G. E. Hopkins, followed by a private showing of an exhibition commemorating the 100th anniversary of the California Gold Rush.

Tuesday, Nov. 16: Opening of a special exhibition of Early American Children's Portraits, with a lecture for members on the same subject.

Monday, Dec. 6: St. Nicholas Day Festival for members and their guests, featuring a series of monologues by Miss Cornelia Stabler with "American Christmases" as the theme.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

OIL PORTRAITS of *Colonel G. Creighton Webb* by M. Bangon Copeland, *Unidentified Lady* by Unidentified Artist, *Lady with Flowers* by Unidentified Artist, and *Phillip the Second* after Velasquez; oil paintings of *The Connoisseur* by Unidentified Artist and *Mediterranean Seaport* by E. Calligieux; watercolors of a *19th Century Homestead* by H. C. Heffer, 1878, and of a *Brazilian Landscape* by Unidentified Artist; metal plaque of *Daniel Webster* by Unidentified Sculptor; uniforms and accessories worn by Colonel G. Creighton Webb in the Spanish-American War; flag of the Third Connecticut Regiment, *c.* 1777; correspondence, documents, and records relating to the Santiago campaign in the Spanish-American War and the Society of the Army of Santiago de Cuba; genealogical records of the Webb and allied families, principally the writings of Colonel Webb; correspondence and writings of Colonel Webb relative to public questions and foreign affairs; 420 volumes of history, biography, and reference; 232 photographs and 5 albums of photographs, and 4 Spanish-American War maps (on cloth). *Gift of Mrs. Jorge R. André (Laura V. Webb), Niece of Colonel G. Creighton Webb.*

Collection of 86 copper-luster pitchers and a group of late 19th-century pressed glass; 3 woodcuts and 3 engravings of Albany, Schenectady, and Troy, New York. *Bequest of Weber Hill Arkenburgh.*

Fifteen commissions, diplomas, certificates, etc., 2 of them awarded to Abraham Kerns Arnold (1837–1901), father of the donor, and 13 to Percy Weir Arnold (1874–1919), brother of the donor. *Gift of Colonel Samuel B. Arnold.*

Fifteen early periodicals relating to photography, 1850–63. *Gift of Mrs. T. K. Boardman, Jr.*

Watercolor of the *Empire State Building from Graymoor, Garrison-on-Hudson* by the donor. *Gift of Miss Erica May Brooks.*

Edward Donovan, *Natural History of the Insects of India*, published by Robert Havell in London in 1838 (Havell's copy). *Gift of Mr. J. Herbert Carpenter, Jr., in Memory of his Grandfather, George Jackson Fisher, M.D.*

Model of 100,000-barrel tanker built by the Federal Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company in 1936. *Gift of the Federal Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company through Mr. Charles W. Bryan, Jr., Vice President.*

Broadside advertising S. Draper's auction sale of stocks, bonds, etc., October 16, 1855 (the majority of the securities listed were the residuary estate of Mrs. Nicholas Fish). *Gift of Mr. Stuyvesant Fish.*

Thirty-four deeds, affidavits, bonds, etc., 1705–1772, principally for land in Dutchess County, New York. *Gift of Mrs. H. Lloyd Gates.*

Collection of early 19th-century children's clothes and samplers. *Gift of Miss Anna Gillingham.*

Silver loving cup presented to Edwin Lawrence Godkin by friends in recognition of his services in breaking up the Tweed Ring in New York City in 1894. *Gift of Mrs. Lawrence Godkin.*

Collection of material from the library of the donor's husband, the late James Guthrie Harbord, relating principally to the Philippines and World War I: 375 volumes, 81 photographs and 2 albums of photographs, 7 original drawings, watercolor, diploma, commission, and 2 volumes of newspaper clippings about General Harbord, 1906–1915. *Gift of Mrs. James Guthrie Harbord.*

Plaster life mask of *John James Audubon, c.* 1830. The donor and his brother made this impression from the original about 1907. *Gift of Mr. Harry P. Havell.*

Silver sugar bowl and creamer, a wedding gift to Mrs. Johnson Livingston de Peyster, mother of the donor; 8 silver salt spoons. *Gift of Mrs. de Peyster Hosmer.*

Silver medal presented to Governor DeWitt Clinton, great-great-grandfather of the donor, by the National Guard of New York, July 4, 1826. *Gift of Mr. DeWitt C. Jones.*

Map of the boroughs of Manhattan, The Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and part of Richmond, City of New York, published by E. Belcher Hyde, 1905; 5 real estate atlases of New York City. *Gift of Mr. Frederick S. Kellogg.*

Volume of protests of bills of exchange by Cadwallader D. Colden, Notary Public, 1801–1803. *Gift of Mr. LeRoy E. Kimball.*

Two catalogues and a pamphlet relating to the artist George Catlin; collection of lithographs (illustrations from various works of Catlin). *Gift of Mrs. Ernest C. Kinney.*

Material relating to B. Kreischer and Sons' Fire Brick Works at Kreischerville, Staten Island (typewritten account, pictures, advertisements, stock certificates, bill heads, etc.). *Gift of Miss Louise Kreischer.*

Collection of books, periodicals, pamphlets, and newspapers of historical and literary interest; 2 albums of photographs. *Gift of Dr. Thomas O. Mabbott.*

Records of the firm of Samuel Thompson's Nephew and Company, New York City merchants. *Gift of Mrs. William Peckham Mason in Memory of her Husband, William Peckham Mason, Last Surviving Member of the Firm.*

Three volumes of original sketches by Daniel Huntington (1816–1906), two of Lake Mohonk and Lake Placid and one of figure sketches. *Gift of Mr. Ethelbert Allen Moore.*

Naval uniform worn by F. Maurice Newton in 1898; piece of wood from the U. S. Frigate *Constitution;* 2 plaid taffeta costumes, *c.* 1860; 20 photographs, 6 daguerreotypes, and a tintype of various members of the Newton family; 7 family letters, 1878–79, 2 biographies, and 9 photostats of material relating to the Newton family. *Gift of Mrs. F. Maurice Newton.*

Detail, *Rattle Watch of New Amsterdam;* oil paintings *On Montauk, Long Island,* 1937, and *In the Painted Desert, Arizona, No. 3,* 1935; oil on board *Black Mesa, Alcalde, New Mexico,* 1928; oil on board *Still Life—The Good Earth,* 1932; 2 pencil drawings of *Greek Figure Studies,* 1915, all by Francis Newton. *Gift of Mrs. Francis Newton.*

Oil portrait of the donor as a boy by Harper Pennington, 1894; pastel portrait of the donor as a child by Martinez. *Gift of Mr. Norreys J. O'Conor.*

Self-Portrait by John Paradise (1783–1833), oil on canvas; *Self-Portrait* by John Paradise, oil on panel; oil portraits of *Juliet and John Wesley Paradise, Juliet Paradise,* and *Aaron Paradise,* all by John Paradise, and an oil-on-panel portrait of *The Right Rev. John Henry Hobart* (1775–1830), Seventh Rector of Trinity Parish, by John Paradise. *Gift of Mrs. Thomas F. Paradise in Memory of her Husband, Thomas Faulkner Peers Paradise.*

Oil portrait of *Louis Senac,* fencing master, by S. M. Norton; foils and sign from the New York Fencing School of Louis Senac; collection of 77 photographs, 3 certificates, 2 broadsides, and a poster relating to the school. *Gift of Major Augustus Post.*

Fire bucket used in New York City about 1780 by the donor's grandfather. *Gift of Mrs. John Fowler Pound.*

Two pencil drawings by F. O. C. Darley. *Gift of Mr. Oliver C. Sheean.*

Longworth's American Almanac, New York Register and City Directory for 1807; The Picture of New York, 1807. *Gift of Miss Mary Otis Stevens.*

Oil painting, *Sowing the Seed,* by Daniel Huntington, 1868. *Gift of the Estate of I. N. Phelps Stokes.*

Programs, tickets, announcements, and accounts concerning Warren Lee Terry and his many presentations of Gilbert and Sullivan. *Gift of Mr. Warren Lee Terry.*

Transcript of material pertaining to the origin and early development of the telegraph, compiled by S. Ward Righter from the Smithsonian-Vail manuscript collection in Washington, D. C. *Gift of Mr. William Penn Vail.*

Two letters from Franchot and Van Rensselaer of Butternuts, New York, to Samuel Gilford and Son of New York City, 1813. *Gift of Miss Florence Van Rensselaer.*

Upper Lake Central Park, Fall View by William R. Miller, 1884, watercolor on paper; *Recorder of the Times,* Newburgh, New York, Vol. I, No. 2 to Vol. III, No. 44 (June 29, 1803, to April 24, 1806); *Rights of Man,* Newburgh, New York, Vol. II, No. 51 (December 24, 1804) and Vol. III, 1805 (7 scattering numbers); typewritten transcripts of 25 muster rolls of British troops, 1709 and undated; 6 volumes of biography and poetry. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*

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